



Students
NOTE BOOK

Name *21. Venkatarishna Rao*
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Bhasa's Thought and Language.

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एकत्र दृष्टदोषाणां सर्वत्राशङ्कते मनः—

K. Venkatesh.

२२ तस्य कश्चित् लोके यो यस्य दधितो जन्तः—K. Venkatesh
= प्रियेषु लोभाय कृत्वा हि जातः।

Bhāsa and Dāmaka Prahasana.

Prof. M. Ramakrishna Kavi in a learned paper on
Two more dramas of Bhāsa' submitted to the Oriental
Conference in Madras in December 1924 (pp 80-84 summarizing)
argues. If the 13 dramas already published could be a
production of a single author, may be Bhāsa, Udraka
or Sūdraka - the Dāmaka must also take a seat in
the list. Later again, in the course of the article,
he remarks that the absence of certain features
noticed by Śāradātanaya, an Ālankārika of 1150 A.D.
in the Svapnavāsavadatta as available to him in his
day lends colour to the theory of some Malabar scholars
that Bhāsa's original work was either condensed or
refitted by the Śākya, a sect of professional players
in Malabar. Our Dāmaka will support the same theory
though I cannot accept it without further evidence.

With reference to the Dāmaka Prahasana as
we find it published by Pandit Venkatarama Sharma
in the Punjab Sikh Series, the drama or rather the farce
of a drama is nothing but a series of excerpts from
various contexts. For example even the Nāndi

सुवर्णयुक्तीं ब्रह्माणीं ब्रह्माणं च कुडाध्वजम् ।
सर्वाद्यं देवतावन्दे वन्दे सर्वाद्यं तापसान् ।

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(Vātsyāyana and Bhāsa continued).

H.C. Chakraborty in his interesting monograph on Vātsyāyana in the Calcutta Dept of Letters 1921 records it as his considered opinion that the society as depicted in Bhāsa's dramas is exactly the same as that described in Vātsyāyana's. The Vaisika Kālā in which some of Bhāsa's heroes like Chārudatta specialised is dealt with in detail by Vātsyāyana and the Lalita Vistāra almost contemporaneously refers to Buddha's proficiency in Śūlākṣaṇa, pūrṇa-lakṣaṇa, Vaisika, besides many other Kālās - vide Lalita Vistāra ed. by Dr S. Zeyman p 156 ff. The fashionable life of the day centred round these ganikās who were esteemed by the public and praised by Kings and leaders of fashion. Asvaghosa slightly later remarks in one of the fragments of his dramas as discovered and published by Luders

- अहं इति वदति आमेतः गरीककुले. Chārudatta's prāvaraka handed over to the ganikā at the end of I act elicits her remark about Chārudatta's अद्भुतं गरीकं even in his present poverty;

appears almost exactly in Kaṭhilya's Arthasāstra with
the difference that the 3rd line reads सर्वत्र अस्मिन्पक्षे.
The कौटिल्यनगर and the King Brahmaṇḍa with the
names of the city and the king inverted by the Viśiṣṭaka
in the Svapna scene just before the king closed off is also
here; the Brahmin unfortunate in being denied the
invitation for the meal - आमन्त्रणविप्रलब्ध इव ब्रह्मणः
is also here bodily copied from the Arimānaka. Misfortune
never come single - संघचारिणोऽन्तर्गताः is the Viśiṣṭaka's
phrase in the Svapna; as also the phrase अनर्थसहितान्ते
and the sentence भर्तृदारिका सुखिगच्छेन भोजनेन प्रत्युदयति
शृणोमि गच्छं श्रवणाभ्याम्, अन्धकारदूरिता भ्रातृनासापुटाभ्यां
पश्यामि are the Śākara's sentences bodily taken over
from the Chāṇḍulla into the Mecchatāṭika and also into
this disreputable production. कृत्वा तत्र ग्रामिणो दृष्टानाः
is borrowed from Kālidāsa's Kumāra III. प्रदीप्तोऽग्निर्भाति
प्रचरति हि धूमो मुनिवनम्, अहिलमवगाढो मुनिजनः appear
exactly in Svapna I last verse; द्रुत जातवेदसः, अनुजातः,
क्षेत्रलम्बिनीर्जटाः, मुक्तायुज्ञोपवीतानि विभ्राजाः, अरण्य-
वीजाञ्जलिदानकालिताः, घरस्तनप्रस्रवणैर्वर्धयन्ति
are all phrases borrowed from various contexts in
Kumārasambhava I or VI. The next scene in

he likes to attend music parties till late in the night.
 This house is provided with amenities as per Vātsyā-
 yana's plan. Kurangi's palace and the palace of Mahā-
 -sena have upasānas or swimming pools (wrongly
 termed Turkish Baths). Avimānaka just before his
 regaricus entry into the Kanyāntakapura wanders
 in the city streets where even the ordinary citizens
 were 'nāgarakas', a special term coined by Vātsyā-
 yana to connote loveadepts. ^(Kaunhya uses it on p. 43 II. 36. only in the sense of Mayor of city.) The Vidyādhara with
 his wife desirous of celebrating his honeymoon
 on the 'Sita Chandanavilaya malaya' is as every-
 body can see another nāgaraka or votary of the
 Kāmakalā and Hidimbā's excellent trick to
 invite Bhīma into her abode and seek solace
 clandestinely in his arms (- particularly because
 of his special injunction not to exhibit her नीनता -
 विशेषतो मत्सकाइ। मा प्रकाशय नीनतां। उत्तमस्त्रीगुणोपेता भजेयः
 वरवर्जिनि - Ādi Parva 168, 17 -) could easily emanate
 from one who has thoroughly mastered Vātsyā-
 yana's wily tricks. Bhāsa's home is certainly an
 ideal happy home for young men and women as

which Parasurama and Karṇa enter is bodily taken from the Karnabhāra of Bhāṣe and the last verse from the previous scene दुःखराः स्वस्ति कुर्वन्तु is Sita's prayer in the Abhisheka. In the last scene even the sloka हवे वज्रमुखेन नाम कृमिणा is completely borrowed from Karnabhāra. The first bit of the भरतवाक्य - सर्वत्र संपदः सन्तु is found exactly in the same भरतवाक्य of the कर्णभार. Similarly the sentence अनुक्तं ग्राहिणं occurs in Bhāṣe's drama ~~with~~ connection with Viṭhiana's advice not being palatable to Ravana. The Bhāṣavat-
apukṛtya is also indented upon in the sentence आः, एष दुष्टकुक्कुरः अस्मात् आश्रमभोगात् वक्तुं गृहीता भवति.

The drama is summarised by Mr Karṇam. It consists of one act divided into 2 scenes. In the first, Dāmaka, a servant of Karṇa, sympathises with his master and condemns him for his obstinacy and ambition when he was about to start for the abode of Parasurama. His advice or admonition was ineffective. Further on he describes the beautiful āshrama of the sage at

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The antah purikāvṛtta prakaraṇa I.6 and also the

The antah prakāśa
next dārāśika prakāśa very easily reminds us
entry into the Kanyāntah.

of Āśvīnārāṇas. More particularly the 11th sūtra - V.6.p264-73A
prasa. ... the pramada Vanāragāṭham

Edn. of 1929 - sāpasam
vibhaktadīrghakakṣam alpapramattarakṣam
bānāni samikṣya bahusāh

prosita kajakam karanam
samamānah artha buddhyā kaksā praveram cha
pravis't-seems

dr̥ṣṭvā tābhireva vīkṛtāṃsaṃ
definitely to refer to Avimāṇaka's entry
of the dhātreyikā or

Again on page 246, ~~IX~~-4-18, the shy

to listen to listen to
is the maid for the places where the lover
sitting or sleeping - कालिदास

might have been
श्रुतिं are reminding us of the Brahmācharin's
his wife's death lamenting

अथ शयितः कश्चिन्मृतः
account of Udayana after his wife's death lamenting

length. He makes his exit. Parasurama and Karna enter and the latter requests him to teach him all astras. The sage refuses to teach anything to a Kshatriya. Karna says he is a Brahmin and not a Kshatriya. Thus with false pretensions, he receives the astras, but is cursed in the end and the play closes.

Even Mr Kavi admits that the description of Parasurama's abode appears to be a patchwork of phrases from the dramas of Bhasa and Mahendrakavirama Varman. The conversation between Parasurama and Karna was borrowed intact from Karmabhara. I have already shown how this Prahasana plagiarises many phrases from Kalidasa and other authors. When Mr Kavi hesitates to attribute plagiarism to Mahendrakavirama, he feels he can be justified in assigning this Dāmak a seat in the list of the 13 Trivandrum dramas. The 13 dramas possess some excellent characteristics as we have been endeavouring to show and even a cursory reader will find that the tenor of Bhasa's dramas is not at all different from this depraved Dāmak. A puritanic writer of Bhasa's temperament would

saying इह तया सह हासितं etc (p. 11. Svapna I). If Bhāsa in his *Pratimā* I. 29 suggested that married women could be seen with impunity in yajnas, marriages, sorrows and forests, Vātsyāyana echoes almost the same language and idea when he said - p. 189, III-4-34 यत्र विवाहे यात्रायामुत्सवे व्यसने वेश्याकव्यापृते च जने तत्र तत्र च दृष्टेद्विज्ञाकारं परीक्षितभावाभेकाकिनीमुपक्रमेत though in a quite different context. The phrase *amṛtāpadeṣana gatawānasmī* used by Bhūtika, the minister of Kumbhāji's father in connection with his spying on *Avimāra* is repeated by Vātsyāyana in III. 1. 18 कन्यां येषामलंकृतमन्यापदेशेन

दर्शयेत्तुः

One could easily find such similar echoes of ideas, but sufficient, I believe, has been said to show that Vātsyāyana muni must have been a close student of Kāmbhāji and Bhāsa and should have flourished soon after them. The ordinary man had not at all become pessimistic in outlook under the weight of Vedantic ideas in the 2nd cen BC. If Bhāsa is

never have defended his pen by writing a $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ and less
of all the most prosaic and even forthright Dāmatā.
Bhāsa's one-act dramas are set in a different mould
altogether.

As regards the Trivikrame 'of unique character'
to quote the same Mr Kari, his summary is 'It is
in fact only a prologue where the Sūtradhara presents
to a picture of Bali and Vamana as exhibited in the
famous Trivikramāvatāra relates the encounter of
Vamana and Bali'. The nati is eager to hear the story
and it is narrated in noble sentiments and the style
may be reminiscent of Bhāsa's but the only explanation
that should naturally suggest itself in the case of
both Dāmatā and Trivikrame is that they might
have been influenced by Bhāsa to a great extent;
to assert that they must take a seat along
with the 13 dramas is going farther than the
evidence would warrant as the very style makes
us infer that these Prākāsas are Kāvya-like Compos-
itions. The same remark applies also to the
Very interesting $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, a collection of 4 bhāṣas

pushed to the 7th cen A.D or thereafter, the society
 as described in the drama cannot at all reflect the
 society of the country dominated by Sri Samkhya and
 other great Āchāryas. Every one of Ashoka's heroes
 like 'Ghāmudatta' for example, wanted to make his
 'yātravāna amudāsina' and this agrees very well
 only with the post-Ashoka society of the Jātakas.

edited by the same indefatigable scholar Mr. Kaur
the subject matter of these dramas is rank immorality;
prostitutes and their admirers meet us in almost every
page while even the one prostitute Vasantasenā in
Bhāsa's Chārudatta is at the end elevated into a chaste
wife. Even the Rākṣasi Hidimbā wants a chaste
meeting - devoid of नीचता - with her husband भीम.
The Ubhayaṭhisārika verse 18 last line योऽसौ रणेः
मनोमिलितं भवेत्तौ स्यात्तद्विजयत (Cr 7. - 1922 Edn.) may
be a faint echo of Arimāraka II where the maids refer
to a योग of the lover and the loved, elevating it into a
योगशास्त्र. Similarly the description of the देवता in
S'yamilaka's Pādetāditaka reminds us of Vasantasenā's
palace in the Mucchakavīka. Without referring to further
details about these dhāmas, we may fearlessly assert
that they are very late compositions and the fair name
of Bhāsa should not be sullied by being clubbed
with these trash as their author.

Chapter XI. Vishnu Purāṇa and Bhāsa.

Here again the traditional sacredness of this Purāṇa or the gem among the Purāṇas (as Sri Rāmānuja the great Vaiṣṇavite saint styles it) makes us entitle the chapter thus though chronologically we should have said Bhāsa and Vishnu Purāṇa. This Purāṇa must have been definitely long prior to Vārāhamihira who was responsible for making our list of nakṣatras start with aśvini since in II-9.16, it refers to Kṛttikādiṣu nṛkeṣu, starting with Kṛttikā. It is the oldest and the most revered of the extant Purāṇas and provided some of the most important tenets of Sri Rāmānuja's philosophy, hailing perhaps from about the 2nd cen A.D. if not earlier. We will proceed to show that the compiler of this Purāṇa might have been influenced to a certain extent at least by Bhāsa and will try to point out some similarities between the two. Most of Bhāsa's heroes are bhūjāyudha-pradhāna and Kalayavana is described as mi-

Bhāsa and Guṇādhya.

Guṇādhya, the reputed author of the Br. hatkathā, seems to have been the most famous and earliest storywriter in the world. Unfortunately nothing is known about him except the tradition that he wrote this excellent treasurehouse of popular stories. Bāṇa testifies to this fact since he states that the stories therein excited everybody's wonder or ~~दृष्टि~~, but almost soon after Dandin was forced to remark that the book existed only 'in repute' (गुणः - they say) and that repute was that it was composed in a rather uncultivated Prākṛit dialect, the bhūtabhāṣā. He also referred to the adbhuta or the wonderment in the stories and later writers like Dhanañjaya (Hall I-61), Dharmika in his Avaloka on Daśarūpaka. IV. 34, Nalāchampi of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa (I. 14) refer to the existence of this storehouse of stories from which poets could easily indent upon for their literary plots. In the 11th Cen A.D. Somadeva and Ksemendra prepared summaries of this

early as 'bāhupraharaṇa' in Viṣṇu Purāṇa in V. 23.17
 सतीत्वा वासुदेवं तं कौतुप्रहरणे नृपः (P 720, Givānanda
 Vidyāsāgar's Ed. Calcutta - 1882). Similarly the verse
 IV. 12 of the Bālacharita - मम पादेन नागेन्द्र चिक्षिप्तं तव
 मूर्धनि । सुपर्ण इव दृष्टे दमभयं ते प्रदास्यति ॥ seems to
 be echoed in V. P. (= Viṣṇu Purāṇa) V. 7. 75 - सत्यवति
 च ते सर्प दृष्ट्वा मूर्धनि सागरे । गरुडः पद्मगरिपुस्त्वयिन
 प्रहरिष्यति ॥ Similarly the 'devarahasya' referred
 to in rather mysterious terms at the end of the IV
 act in the Bālacharita seems to be clearly explained
 by Nārada in the V. P. V. 16. Verses 18 to 27. Further,
 the heavenly drums being beaten of their own
 accord at Kṛṣṇajayanta in the beginning of the Bāh II
 is echoed in V. P. V. 20. 59. मृदङ्गदिपु, तूर्येषु प्रति-
 पिच्छेषु, तक्षिणत । रवे संगतान्यवाद्यन्त देवतूर्याण्यनेकशः ॥

We might at this point digress a bit and
 consider some of the sources of the Kṛṣṇa legend
 besides the Viṣṇu "epic" which might have preceded
 our modern Purāṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
 XI-V-5-8 refers to a gāthā relating to a story

famous work in the Sanskrit language, the former calling his work Kathāsanitāgare which is almost 3 times as large as the other's which he called modestly the Br̥hat Kathāmanjarī. There is yet again a Perungadai in Tamil, whose relation to the Br̥hat Kathā cannot be definitely ascertained.

Now, what is Bhasa's relation to this Guṇāḍhya? His 4 dramas Chāru, Arimūrtaka, Pratīgnā and Śvapna might have been based upon this ancient storybook. The stories of the 1st two are not directly found in the extant summaries and the story of the popular hero of fiction — almost as popular as King Arthur in English history — Udayana of Kāśāmbī is narrated in the last 2 dramas. The plot of the first relates to Udayana's elopement with Vasavadattā, culminating in his marriage with her and the second narrates the story of the second marriage with Padmāvatī. The episodes in these dramas, however, have not much in common with the 3 extant summaries of the Br̥hat Kathā noted above, but some of the episodes therein offer striking

of a great snake driven away from its lake. The story
 is as follows: One day Kṛṣṇa went to Brondāvana with
 some cowherds, his elder brother Baladeva, not being with
 him then. He came to a big lake inhabited by Kālīya
 and his family. Owing to the poison of these serpents, the
 water of the lake could not be used by man or beast
 for miles around. To remove this inconvenience, he
 leapt into the lake; being at once surrounded by
 snakes, biting and coiling round him, he disentan-
 gled himself and got on to the hood of the Kālīya
 himself and began to dance so violently that it
 began to vomit blood. The other serpents (but in
 Bhāsa's story, in V.P. V. vii-47 et seq. and in Bhāga-
 vata B. i. 16. 33 et seq. serpent's wives) begged for
 mercy. Kṛṣṇa relented but insisted that the
 serpent should leave with his retinue for the
 sea. He assured the serpent that Garuda would
 recognise his (Kṛṣṇa's) footprints on his hood and
 would never molest him in future. The Bala. V. 12
 has just been quoted. In the Bhāratā epic, a Nāga

resemblance with those in the Tamil version Perumgavai.
On this point, Sri D. Gundappa's introduction to his
Kannada version of the Pratīyā might be summarised
as follows: According to the K. S. S. story, Mahāsena
is eager to give his daughter in marriage to Udayana
and the latter also is eager to marry her, but
mutual family feuds prevent each other from
starting the negotiations at either end; when
Mahāsena sends a message to Udayana soliciting
his services as ~~music~~ master to Vasakadattā, the
latter proudly replies that the princess herself should
be sent to his capital for the purpose. This indignant
reply infuriates Mahāsena who employs the elephant
trick to capture Udayana and entrusts his daughter to
him for Vīṇā lessons. Yanyanthe accompanied by
Vasantaka comes to Rijjajini and acquires the
friendship of a Brahmarākṣasa with whose help he
learns the art of assuming different forms. Going
to the palace with the help of the Yogi, he teaches
Udayana supernatural arts like nigalabhajana
or chain breaking and परीक्षित or captivating
others' minds. Vasantaka also assumes a comic
shape (cf. Bhāsa's *soṃhāṣa*) and remains with

tribe Kaliya (not an individual serpent) is one of the
 various full-tribes defeated and brought under control
 but in Bhāsa, this exploit of Kṛṣṇa is dealt with rather
 briefly. After some time, the V.P. and the Hari Vamśa
 (H.V.) glorified this event and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa
 (B.P.), coming chronologically last, was eloquent
 about this episode. Bhāsa does not describe the
 next episode of the Govardhana mountain being
 lifted except by a brief adjective गोवर्धनोत्थर in Bā.
 IV. 11, but the V.P. and H.V. describe this episode
 particularly and the B.P. even goes to the extent
 of referring to Kṛṣṇa's abhisēka by Indra and
 the conferring of the title 'Govinda' on Him by the
 latter. This epithet Govinda found in V.P. is absent in Bhāsa.
 (miracle of the mother seeing the different worlds inside Kṛṣṇa's mouth is also absent.)
 It is again interesting to note that while B.P.
 refers to Kamsa as an elder brother of Devaki, H.V.
 makes her Kamsa's father's sister. V.P. I. 16. refers
 to Devaki as Kamsa's mother, perhaps cousin.
 The Buddhist Ghatagāṭaka makes Devagabbhā
 (Devaki) Kamsa's sister as in our B.P. But the

Vasavadatta & Udayana, narrating them romantic tales.
In good time, Vasavadatta becomes more and more
enamoured of Udayana even to the extent of losing her
affection for her father. Yaujandha shrewdly observes
all this, engages Vasavadatta's elephant-keeper as his
own spy by bribing him heavily, makes all the watch-
men dead drunk and unconscious, makes Kanchanamala,
Vasavadatta & Vasantaka seated on Bhadravati (Vasavadatta
elephant), kills the two wakeful watchmen, and escapes
with Udayana into his master's kingdom. Mahasena's
son Palaka comes to know of his escapade, becomes
exasperated and pursues Udayana on the famous
elephant Malagiri, but the other brother Gopalaka
runs up from behind and persuades him to go
back. After this Pradyota sends Gopalaka to Kamsambli
where the marriage is celebrated with great eclat.

Now, the Tamil Perumgadari does not refer
to the previous negotiations at all. Vatsaraja does
not know Vasavadatta previously. He stops paying the
^{stipulated} tribute to Pradyota, the Emperor who accordingly orders
his minister to ^{assist} ~~help~~ him. The minister Salankayana
arranges for the artificial elephant, has Udayana
arrested and places him in a strongly guarded prison.
Yuzi, Udayana's minister (= Yaujandha) hears this and

Maharata Epic makes Devaki the daughter of Devaka, brother of Ugrasena. Bhāsa refers to Kamsa as Kansa's father's brother-in-law - अग्रतः इत्यत्र - Dātā Vākya 26. Our popular account follows the B.P. and makes Kamsa and Devaki brother and sister.

The H.V and V.P. accounts almost concur, making it possible for us to infer that they might have been composed almost simultaneously. The latter account is briefer; these two and Bhāsa are fond of the word अग्रतः and pray for the allround prosperity of the cows and the Brahmins. अग्रतः is the prayer of Bhāsa's Karṇa and similar sentiments can be easily called from these 2 Puranic texts. As we just now remarked, the deva- rahasya of Bhāsa seems to be explained by Nārada to Kamsa when he says he has overheard the secret deliberations of the gods in Svarga where they have concerted measures for his (Kamsa's) death. - परं शृण्वं देवानां स ते मृत्युर्भविष्यति and also न तस्ते तन्महं नृपं दिव्यं यः कदाप्यभ्यर्ह न - referring to Kamsa his future destroyer as a divine and big brūta.

vows that he would release Udayana and make
him elope with Vasavadatta. Disguised, he goes with
trusted assistants and institutes plans for his
master's release. It so happens that in this period
Aruni annexes Udayana's kingdom. In Teyyayini,
Yaji institutes magical devices and administers
drugs to the elephant Nalagiri. The latter runs amok,
and begins to destroy the city. Fearing further destruction,
the minister is forced to release Udayana from prison.
With the sweet songs played on the lyre Ghosavati,
Udayana tames and subdues the intoxicated elephant.
Out of gratitude, the King receives him with civic honours,
arranges a public reception and fair display for him, assigns
a separate palace for his residence and requests him
to teach the lyre to Vasavadatta. He also requests him
to teach archery and polity to his other two sons. When
the royal family had come out to receive him publicly,
Udayana happens to catch a glimpse of the lovely
Vasavadatta and has already become enamoured of her.
This passion for her overcomes his other considerations
of dignity and he tacitly complies with the Emperor's
request. Vasantaka joins him at this juncture. In
good time, Udayana becomes excessively attached

This last bit 'mahadbhutam' is definitely reminiscent
of Bharas Bala II.10 where Kamsa's Kanchukin refers
to Krishna baby as 'bhutam nabhastalanivasi'. In
that very drama, Narada is described as Kalaha-
priyat (I.3) and as always fastening the strings
of discord and his vina — निरयप्रदानेन रोमसोरिसे...
तं श्रीराम वैरागि न ददुयामि I.4. In the same spirit in the
4.V., the same sage is characterised as केलिकिलः,
भेदइल्लिः, सुइकेष्टोनपि कोकेऽस्मिन् भेदयत्कनते रतिम्।
ददमानो नरेन्द्राणां तं वैरागि येन हि ॥ Narada alone, not
the asavini Vak, hints to Kamsa about his death
from Devaki's 8th child; Bhāsa makes a Madhuka
rai curse Kamsa and does not refer to the
marriage procession (3rd Act as B.P. puts it) in which Kamsa himself
holds the reins of the horses. Bhāsa makes Krishna
the 7th child and even the Purāṇas agree in suggesting
that the 7th child was transferred to Rohini's womb and
so was called सङ्कर्षण or the womb taken out by योगनिद्रा.
Very interesting is the way in which Kamsa
declares in the 4.V. एष मानुष्यको यत्नः मानुषैरेव साधते
श्रूयतां येन देवं हि मादुष्टैः प्रतिहृत्यते ॥ II.6. This seems to

to Vasavadatta. The nurse of Vasavadatta, Sankipattāy
(= Sankītpāyāni of K.S.S.) had been helped by Udayana
on some previous occasion and so she and the maid
Kanchanamala stay with them. When the education
of the children was complete, Udayana is publicly
honoured by the Emperor who excuses his annual
tribute. Aruni is ordered to restore Udayana's king-
dom back to him and decides to send Udayana with
a large army to his kingdom the next day. Yūgi
hears this through his spies, & suddenly realises that
this would mean a reversal of his second vow.
Disguised and pretending that he was god-
animated, he rushes into street after street, proclaiming at
the top of his voice, that the city would be destroyed,
if the ~~विवाहोत्सव~~ or the waterspraying ceremony
be not celebrated the very next day. Udayana's
departure had necessarily to be put off, and some
time after, when the females in the royal harem were
regaling themselves on the riverbank Yūgi sets fire
to some big palaces. The people are all terribly
frightened, and in the confusion, Udayana places
Vasavadatta and Kanchanamala on the elephant
Bhadravati and elopes to his kingdom. The soldiers
who were ordered to pursue him were waylaid and

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 be a definite echo of *Bhāṭa II.14* - दैवं पुरुषकारेण वसि-
 चेष्याम्यहं ध्रुवम्. Kamsa continues in H.V. in the context
 quoted - मंत्रग्रामैः सुविहितैः ओषधैश्च सुयोजितैः । यन्नेन यानु-
 -कृतेन देवमप्यनुलोम्यते ॥ This idea of frustrating divinity
 (reminding of कुर्या हरस्यापि विनाकपाणेः दैवमप्यनु-
 Kumāra II) seems to be a favourite one with the
 author of the H.V. as he harps on the same frequently
 as for example in IV.51. While falling at Devaki's feet,
 (he does this in V.P. also) with crocodile tears, after her
 last daughter had slipped away from his hands
 into the sky, Kamsa says, दैवं पुरुषकारेण न जातिकान्तम्
 अहम् । yet again in XXVIII.4. दैवं पुरुषकारेण न शक्यं
 भवितुं । नारदोऽहं जवन्तं नूनं मया सुपादितम् ॥

Similarly if Bhāṭa describes that at Kṛṣṇa's birth,
 वातोऽसमभूमिः समोऽलकपातः देवतप्रतिमाश्च प्रातिभासिताः, and
 महीलेन्द्राः कामितेयं वसुधारा (Bhāṭa II.11), H.V. in IV.15
 describes the same event in almost the same words, सागराः
 समकम्पन्त येन श्वधरणीधराः । तज्जलुःशामयः शान्ताः नारदाः
 जनार्दन ॥ It is interesting to note in this connection that
 the popular belief, following the Bhāgavata is that the
 nakṣatra was Rohini at Kṛṣṇa's birth, but Pādānta
 Desika recorded the idea correctly in his Yādavāilya-
 dayā Nāṇḍi - जयन्तीसंभवं धाम. The H.V. also mentions

driven back by Yūgi's spies who issued like
fierce Cobras from each and every corner. After
every one of his associates had fled, Yūgi manages
to effect his escape also with Sankiyattay. Udayana
and Vasavadatta are married and are supremely happy.

That the story in the Perumgadai agrees with
that in Bhāsa better than the K.S.S., anybody can
easily see. Excepting the fact that Mahāsenā did
not get Udayana arrested with the one idea of
making him his son-in-law, Bhāsa's story seems to
follow the Perumgadai almost in every detail. The
K.S.S. makes ~~Buddhadatta~~ another minister institute
the elephant plan; acc. to Bhāsa it is Bharatarohaka,
while in the Perumgadai, it is Śāntakāyana. The
K.S.S. tells us elsewhere that Mahāsenā had another
minister Bharatarohaka, but it does not mention
Śāntakāyana. Acc. to both the Pratiṇā & the Perumgadai,
the person who actually captures Udayana is Śānta-
kāyana. Yaśodhanā's coming to Ujjayini in the company
of a large retinue, infuriating Kālāfini and effecting
Udayana's release thereby, Udayana's not knowing
Vasavadattā at all in the beginning, and seeing her only to
be absorbingly enamoured of her, Mahāsenā's entrusting

अभिजिन्नाम नक्षत्रं जयन्ती नाम शर्वरी। सुतुह्ये विजये नाम
जयमते जनार्दने॥ The stars were 28, not 27 in the
Atharva Veda and the earlier Vedic period with Atharv
which was dropped out perhaps in Varāhamihira's time
when the recasting with Asvini in the beginning was
done. (We have already referred to the way in which V.P.
refers to Kṛttikā ^{Kādisu} ~~Asvini~~, not asvinyādisu).

Bhāsa is fond of describing the Hallisaka
dance of Kṛṣṇa with the gopas boys in the Pañcharām
and Bāla. The names of the gopis keeping company
are referred to in Bāla III as Ghoṣasundarī, Vanamātā,
Chandraraktā, and Mrigālekṣī and there is no mention
of either Rādhā or Rāsakṛidā as in the Kṛṣṇakarmā-
mṛtā, or Līlā Govindā; ^{comes only} she in the Kṛṣṇajñanakhanda
in the Brahma Vairāṇṭa Purāṇa. Similarly in the V.P.
and H.V., this Hallisaka alone is described, and in the
latter II.20, the dance has been graphically described
though not actually named. In the Adolphon alone,
the name Hallisaka appears and Nilakāṇṭha, the
commentator, making an anachronism as it were,
identifies the Hallisaka and the Rāsa dances. ~~They~~
पुंसो बहुभिः स्त्रीभिः क्रीडुनं यत्र रासक्रीडा गोपीनां मण्डले
नृत्यं विदुः हल्लिसकं विदुः. This dance is described in

Vasavadatta to Udayana for tuition in music, Yaugandhai's soldiers fighting with Mahasena's soldiers ordered to pursue Udayana who has eloped with Vasavadatta, and more particularly, Yaugandhai's vow to effect Vasavadatta's elopement along with his master's release — these episodes not found in the Sanskrit Versions are found only in the Perumgadam.

The Tamil work Perumgadam has been summarised by the late Purnalingam Pillai in his Tamil literature published by the Biblic Mica Munnipollam in 1929. His suspicion is that the Paisache work of Gunadhy must have been the Tamil work itself and his version runs thus: "Sathani Kan was a king of Cosambi. His wife Mirugapathi was pregnant and about to deliver. In the moonlight night she slept in the courtyard with red clothes on. A bird of flesh took her for a mass of red flesh, carried her away and left her at Vipulaghini (rising mount). When the bird thought of tasting the flesh, the pregnant woman opened her eyes, and the bird flew away. At sunrise, Uthayanan was born. He was tended by his maternal grandfather

74. V. II. 89 Both the H.V. and V.P. refer to Krishna's associa-
 tion with gopis, but both are careful in emphasizing
 that Krishna was but a Kṛṣṇa, even younger than the
 Paṇḍita = seven years of B.P. it is curious that they
 use the same words - कैशोरकं मातमन्त्रं सह नाभिर्मुखा
 V.P. II. 13. 59 and सोऽपि कैशोरकनये मातमन्त्रमुत्तुङ्गः. H.V.
 II. 20. 18. In both these contexts, again, occurs the verse
 गोवायसमाणाः पतिभिः मातृभिः भर्तृभिस्तथा। कृष्णं गोपा-
 द्भिरासौ मृगयन्ते रतिप्रियाः॥ The V.P. verses in the
 context are noteworthy - रेमे ताभिरमयेसा क्षयासुक्ष्मितादि
 तद्भर्तृषु तथा तासु सर्वभूतेष्वरेष्वरः॥ आत्मस्वरूपरूपेणैव
 व्याप्य वायुरिह स्थितः॥ They may imply that like the
 all-pervading air, Krishna interpenetrated them,
 being antaryāmi. The H.V. in the context explains
 this by saying that the gopis loved to sing about his
 efforts in pairs or groups, imitating his movements
 even - रत्यन्तरगतः रात्रौ त्रिवान्ते रसलालसाः Verse 32. If the
 Gopikā Gitā ^{the B.P. improves} ~~advanced~~ on his idea by saying कृष्णं
 पूजनायनयाः ~~कृष्णायनयपिलस्तनं~~। लोकचित्ता रुदयन्ता पदाहृत
 वाकरायतीत॥ B.P. II - पूर्वोक्तं अध्याय 30 Verses 15 to 30, The
 verses are very lovely no doubt, and even the word Rāsa
 Kṛīḍā (lāṭhīyā 33) comes in the context, but Rādhā is supposed
 to be the person with whom the gopis in the context

and was living in a hermitage on the hill. He was
educated along with Yuki, a Brahmin lad and son
of a Rsi (८१ सहस्रं क्रीडितम् in the Pratikṇā I act
where the mother of Udayana refers to Yauṇandya
as having played with ~~Yauṇandya~~ in his boyhood) and
turned out an expert in many branches of knowledge.
His harping kept even elephants under his spell.
An elephant of a superior order, enchanted by his
talents, agreed to do him food service if he would
not eat before feeding the long trunked self. With
the help of his animal, he obtained his uncle's dominions,
then his father's and ruled both. One day he forgot his
word, ate first and the elephant disappeared. Udayana
went in search of him. In his wide wanderings, he
came across an elephant which he mistook for his
own but which was a work of art and concealed
many warriors of Ujjain like the Trojan horse in the
Iliad. It was a monstrous device of the King of Ujjain
who wanted to capture the tributary prince for default
of payment of tribute. The warriors concealed in the
elephant emerged and fell upon the unarmed
prince and took him prisoner to Palankayana
the chief minister. The prince's bosom friend Yuki

imagine Kṛṣṇa has disappeared; however, the name
 Rādhā does not appear; a little later, the āśhātmic
 interpreters almost made havoc by misconstruing
 (न क वक्षसि गीतं रासे वृन्दावने अने
 रत्नमन्तरगतः गीतः; and गीतमोक्षाय हृदये, which was
 metaphorically introduced in the beginning and
 explained physically also and the ^{all} ecstatic
 nāsa-dance - which should after be symbolic
 of denuding the self in humility before the Lord -
 was slowly evolved in the Brahma-kivanta Purāṇa.
 The H.V. and V.P. describe the earlier Hāṁśa-dance
 rather briefly and significantly Bhāsa is available.
 here is not the faintest suggestion of the lotus ^{note the Supreme} - गोपायति परमपुमांश्चमिति गोप
 There is another significant departure in the
 reference to Kṛṣṇa as the 7th and not 8th as in the
 popular B.P. version. Even the name Sankarṣaṇa
 signifying dragged out, suggests that he was
 first conceived in Devakī's womb, to be drawn
 out and passed into Rohini's womb, so that he
 could be an elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. Similarly
 Kṛṣṇa's becoming the future killer of Kansa
 is foretold in the Bāla, not by the āśhātmic,

at once vowed that as his dear friend he would
revenge it by carrying away the princess of Ujjayini
without her father's knowledge and he caused the
rumour to spread about that he was dead. In disguise
he and his warriors proceeded to Ujjayini ~~without~~
~~her father's knowledge~~ and while he was there he
drugged the royal elephant Valagiri so that it
became intoxicated and mad and ran amok in
the whole city. Prachothana, its king, was helter. Skelter
and coming to know that the imprisoned prince was
capable of taming the mad animal by his lute he
released Uthayanan who did as desired. The king was
immensely pleased and appointed him toxophilic
tutor (= to teach archery) to his son and appointed
him music master to his daughter Vasavathattai.
The princes and the princess fared well in their respec.
-tive studies and the tutor was amply rewarded. During
the festival of bathing, Vayanthakan (Udayana's
dear friend) told him all about Yuki's stratagem
and Uthayanan eloped with the princess and
her companion (Kanjane) in a female elephant
Pathrapathi and crossed the borders of the kingdom

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but by the curse of a sage named Madhuka which
enters his body dramatically along with so many
extraordinary associates like Chandalakanyas, Akshaya
Kalaratri, Mahanidra, Pingalakshi, (P. 527. Sanskrit
driving out Kansa's royalty or Sri as per orders
of Visnu, the Supreme Accommodation Controller.
All these elements, though not exactly tallying in
every minute detail, are found in the Jaina
classics in Kannada literature in broad outlines at
least. In the Ardhanemi Purana of Nannichandya,
a sage named Astimukha curses Jeyanpiti, the
second daughter of Jarasandha that her husband
Kansa - the names of the wives may be Asti and
Prasti in the Bhārata epic - and father would be
slain by Devaki's son (Ardhanemi VII. 10). Devaki
thrice gave birth to twins (A. N. VII. 29 prose passage
at seq.) and the next ~~is Kansa~~ was Krishna. This
is also the story as narrated by Kamsapūya
in his Neminātha Purāṇa (Madra. univ. edn., II-8. 64
prose). The H. V. refers to the first six sons of Devaki

as the Sadgarbhas¹¹⁷ who were formerly the sons of Kala-
nemi, now born as a result of a curse. The V.P. makes
them Hiranyakashipu's children. Neminātha in the
context also refers to the three twins after whom Kōṣha
was born. The last element referred to in Bhāsa, viz
the ^{forcible} evacuation by Sri of Kamsa's body for the occupa-
tion of the new tenants the curse, Kālarātri etc, is
echoed by Ranna in his Gadāyudha Aśvāsa IX.4
where Aśvathāman comes to Duryodhana for an interview
while the latter is hiding in Vaisampāyana lake.
Bhāsa also refers to the way in which Kamsa had a
high personal regard for Vāsudeva before Madhuka
pronounced his curse on him. At Vāsudeva's instance,
Kamsa seems to have ordered Nandagopa to be
whipped and had decreed that he should be constantly
in chains, though the same Vāsudeva seems to have
also helped him on a yet prior occasion. It is on
the basis of this that Vāsudeva pleads with Nanda
gopa to foster the baby, saying एतन्मम भ्रातृ-
किञ्चित्कालं भूतुं शक्नोति । न हि मम भ्रातृपुत्रस्य कश्चित्

Uthayanan was reinforced by his friend Idupakam and reached the city of Jayanti. He then married Vasavathakam and was lost in her charms. The state affairs were completely neglected; Uki after having played the devil in disguise at Vijayini hastened home with Sankicattai in a car. He saw his friend and ruler bewitched and determined to separate him from his wife in the interests of the state. After giving directions for the management of the state affairs, he once again set afloat a false rumour that he was dead. The sad tidings fell on the ears of Uthayanan and agonised his mind. He was comforted and taken with his wife to a grove near the city of Navanam (=davanaka in Sanskrit) and afterwards to the city itself where they were lodged in a palace. One day the prince went hunting when Sangiathay led the princess through a secret tunnel and they and Uki in disguised passed to the city of Shampai and spent some time there. The hunting prince returned only to find his palace reduced to ashes. It filled him with grief

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समुपागतः - Bala I. 20. and then only Nandagopa circumvent in
gratefulness - किं किं प्रत्युपाकार इति। यदि कंसो वी भवतु, कंसस्य पिता उग्रसेनो वी भवतु, अतः यत्तु भर्ता दारकस्य and accepts
पिता उग्रसेनो वी भवतु, अतः यत्तु भर्ता दारकस्य and accepts
to be the guardian of the child. (By the way, this
last idiom यदि कंसो वा भवतु, कंसस्य पिता उग्रसेनो वी
भवतु is definitely a Dravidian phrase, heard famili-
arly either in Kannada or Tamil circles and practi-
cally absent in Hindi or other North Indian dialects.
present, it has been borrowed from us into these languages also).
In the V.P. again, Nandagopa and others are away
on their carts to pay the annual or Varsika tax to
Kansa while Vasudava transfers the babies in
unknown to anybody, even to Nanda and his wife who is unconscious Vasudava trans-
fers the babies.
Nandagopa's house. To continue the story from
Bhasa's standpoint, the chains fall off mysteri-
ously the moment he lifted the divine baby - pp.
518 and 524). The B.P. or H.V. and even V.P. do not
know anything about these episodes. We can
only conclude that Bhasa's source should have
been some Bhāgavata 'epic' and the extant H.V.
or V.P. seem to be nearer to Bhasa than the B.P.
as we have it now. The Bhāgavata (154 Lowell) offers
some striking similarities to Bhasa's story.

that his wife and friend Yuki should have fallen
victims to the flame and so he made up his
mind to live no longer. Nevertheless, it struck
his mind that a sage at Rajashiri could bring
back to life the dead near and dear, and he accom-
panied by his friend lay concealed in a grove
near that city. Then there was the Vernal
festival going to honour and propitiate Gypid.
Padmarati, the King's sister took part in the
celebration. At her sight, Uthayanan was
spellbound and the lovers resided for a time
in a nunnery there. When the Kingdom was
invaded, Uthayanan showed his military
valour, sacked the foes and put them to rout.
The King of Rajashiri rewarded his services
with the hand of his sister and they were
happy - imparadised in one another's arms.
Uthayanan's brothers and forces defeated their
enemy & he bore sway at lower Sambi. Then
Yuki came back with Vasavathattai and the
King lived happily with his restored wife and

Similarly one ¹¹⁷ of the stories narrated in the famous
Tamil epic Silappadigāram is similar to the story of
Vasantaseñā's mahout in Bhāsa's Chārudatta and
more particularly in the Mucchakatika.

also the new Queen. The ministers Urumanvan and Yuki were rewarded. Prachothanan sent dowries to his daughter and Uthayanan made an ample return through Yuki.

This summary is interesting in its many parallels to Bhāsa's story. Yuki is easily recognised as Yaupana; Udayana and Vasavadatta becoming Uthayanan and Vasavathatta are quite natural in Tamil as also the initial vowel added for Urumanvan making him Urumanvan. Pradyota becomes Prachothana; ~~his sister~~ Padmarati has the same name and other similarities can easily be recognised. Over and above these similarities there is the Aruni affair. After his marriage, Udayana throws himself into the enjoyment of sensual pleasures and becomes slack in kingly duties even to the extent of quietly submitting to the gradual loss of his dominions till he becomes the master of a small 'city-state'. To reenthuse him and to secure the aid of the mighty Magadha King Yaupanutha & the other ministers instituted acc. to K.S.S. the Lāvānaka fire-plan. The Perumadai

We propose to consider the work of the earliest Smṛtikāras like Gautama, Apastamba, Kautilya, Manu and Yājñavalkya with a view to link them with Bhāsa. Bhāsa's style is reminiscent of that of these early Smṛtikāras and more particularly exhibits a close affinity with that of the astute Prime Minister who presided over the destinies of the Mauryan Empire. If Bhāsa could not have had a direct contact with him, as he must have lived about a century and a half later, he must have been an ardent admirer and faithful follower of his school, ^{believing that he lived from 350 to 270 B.C.}

These early Dharmasāstrakāras might have just then insisted upon the prostration by the junior before the elders who in their turn had to pronounce a blessing. He might remind ourselves of Patanjali's advising us to study grammar so that we might not be put to the necessity of keeping silent in the matter of a proper benediction like a woman - *strīḥ śāntaḥ*.

suggests that Magadha's help was necessary for recon-
-quering the lost territories of Kausambi. Vasavadatta
is persuaded to remain incognito for some time so
that her husband might regain his lost territories.
After the marriage with Padmāvatī, and after the
Kingdom is reconquered, there is reunion with Vasava-
datta. Āmuni annexing the Vatsa territories, Udayana
overpowering him with Darśaka's help, the latter
being Padmāvatī's brother, are all met with in the
Śvapna. Padmāvatī is Magadha King's daughter in K.S.S.;
she is the daughter of Mahāsena in the Brhatkathā,
while only in the Perumgadai, she is Magadha
King's sister, exactly as in Bhāsa. But the way
in which Vasavadatta managed to live incognito
with Padmāvatī herself is found only in the
Sanskrit Versions. In the Perumgadai, Udayana
and Vasavadatta do not see each other till both
return to Kausambi. The Śvapna story is 99
per. cent Bhāsa's own creation and its loveliness
is unique.

On the strength of Bhāsa's similarity with the
Perumgadai, are we entitled to conclude that the
former knew the latter? Some scholars like

श्री भूय इत्यनेन उत्तरं. In the Dūtāgato, when the
 blessing is not uttered by Dhītarāstra, the three
 juniors, who have prostrated themselves, Duryodhana,
 Sakuni and Karna are particularly worried and
 demand the reason why no benediction should
 have been uttered (p. 464 - Devadhar). In a similar
 strain, in the Karnabhāra, when Karna prostrates
 himself before Indra, the latter quickly reflects
 that his object in coming there would be frustrated
 if he blesses him in the usual way and promptly
 blessed immortality for his fame - इति इति, इति
 इति. इति इति इति इति इति (p. 486). The ceremo-
 nial āchamana or sipping of the holy water
 after every bodily impurity (called Soucha in
 Dharmasāstra-) such as weeping or sneezing
 is in strict accordance with Smṛti injunctions
 and is to be met with in the Pratinā and the
 Bala. Duryodhana in the Dūtāvākya refers to
 Krishna as abhārya or unfit to be talked to
 as he has killed women, horses, bulls and

The late R Vasudeva Sarma of the National College, Trichy, have suggested that Bhase might have been a southerner on the strength of some other facts also. This similarity seems to strengthen that belief. Bhase preceded Kalidasa but we do not know the date of the Perumgadam. Dr Swaminatha Ayyar suggests that a petty king of Kongunadu, Kongulkeelavar name might have composed this Perumgadam on the basis of Gaṇge King Durvinita's translation of the Sanskrit Brhat Kathā (circa 6th Cen. A.D). How far this can be trusted is a matter of opinion. Both the K.S.S and the B.K.M. hail from the 11th Cen and Bhase could never have seen them at all. Whether he utilised Guṇāṭhya's work alone, or the Tamil Perumgadam and introduced the necessary alterations, it is difficult to decide. One thing can be asserted and that is he must have utilised Guṇāṭhya's original work.

Dr Swaminatha Ayyar states in his preface that he reconstructed the lost portions of the Perumgadam with the help of a Sanskrit Kavya Uditodaya and Udayana Kumarakavya, another Tamil Kavya. The latter is a brief work with not much

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 wrestlers killing whom is prohibited in the Smṛti (Bhāmaha
 definitely says न मरेत् ॥ ३६ ॥ अथ चोक्तं. इह संभवेत्, संभवेत्
 पुण्यकृते मनसा दयायैव, श्रीकृष्णेन च संभवेत् § 412 - Jirānand
 Vidyāsagar's Edn. 1876 II part). Molesting the younger
 brother's wife and living with her is another
 heinous sin or mahāpātaka in Arthaśāstra (यथैव
 यदीयसो भर्ता यदीयान्वाय मस्ति यं / यति ते भवते
 गतं नियुक्तं विपत्तयदि) is Manu's rule. The cere-
 monial worship before starting any venture,
 even if it be thieving, is performed by Lajalaka
 (p. 140). Kharapata (spelt with a double t in Artha
 śāstra of Kautilya p. 219 - Mysore 1875 1907) is
 worshipped as the author of a treatise on
 Steya Śāstra or Thieving (Bāna also refers to
 him in his Kādambarī). Perhaps Bali, Śambhara,
 and Mahākālā worshipped by Arimānaka just
 before his nefarious entry into the Kanyāntaka
 pura (ibid.) were also other exponents of scientific
 thieving at the time. Alone among the classical

1 Compare Bharata paying to his mother. Ardhyaśāstra 7 - न ते हृमभिभाष्ये दुर्लभं पतिव्रतं
 - ११

of description; but the story progresses very fast and is more passionate while Bhasa's drama is more heroic. Sri L. Gundappa quotes a verse from the Tamil Kavya as quoted by Dr Swaminatha Ayyar. If the 'Eritodaya Kavyam' referred to were available for us, we could have instituted a more detailed comparison between it and Bhasa; it is to be regretted that the scholar himself has confessed that his own manuscript copy of that work was lost.

Here ~~were~~ tempted to summarise the story of the B.K. Story as summarised in K.S.S. King Satānika and his son Sahasrānika had in succession ruled over the Vata Kingdom. The latter's queen was Mr. Jāvati. While pregnant, she expressed a longing to bathe in a pool of blood. A celestial tank was filled with some red juice, but while bathing therein, as misfortune would have it, she was mistaken for raw flesh by a bird-relation of Garuda. He snatched her away, but on his finding that she was alive, he deposited her on the peak of the rising mountain. It so chanced that there was Jamadagni's hermitage (continued in the page after next)

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Sanskrit writers, Bhāṣa uses legal terms here and
here, एतत्क is used in Chāṇḍakya when the gambler
replies he is afraid of a creditor, एतन्मते, answering
Varaṇasena's question; एतन्मते is to be understood
in the sense of a hoarder or a miser in गृह्यसूत्र
दंष्ट्रे सन्निवृत्त and शरीर. It is used in the sense
of a wife when Rame says in the Pratinidhānī
मे पूर्वं भवति हि यत्तत्तत्. Similarly the conception of
the sacredness of the nyāsa or trust property
is the same in both Bhāṣa and Kautilya, or
other early Smṛti writers and also testified by
contemporary Greek records. Megasthenes in Frag.
ment XXVII - Macrinole - p 70 remarks 'They have
no suits about pledges or deposits nor do they
require seals about pledges or deposits or witness
(unsealed deposits in Hindu law) and Confide in each
other. Similarly Megasthenes actually refers to Kautilya
laws when he says 'for the law ordains that no one
among them (Indians) shall be a slave under any
circumstances. The reference is here to Kautilya's of
वेगार्थेय दासभारः p. 181. Apastamba also protests

1 The son was a slave of the father in Greece and Rome; he could be sold and could hold no separate property.

Nārada actually ordains - III 12 - पौत्रेष्टुतं अहं मग्नमग्निना
दग्धमेव । न दद्यायति, अमास न संहरति किंचित् i.e. if
Bhara had lived after Nārada, his Charudatta could
have easily taken shelter under the rule of Nārada;
obviously he must have lived before Nārada.

against this theory of slavery¹ in respect of wife, daughter
 and son (II. 6, 13; 10-11). Bhāsa seems to link himself
 with these early Smṛtikāras to whom he pertinently
 refers as Brahmarāśins in Mātṛyamañyāyoga 18.
 * This conception of nyāsa disappeared from our
 legal text books in the Kaliyuga which roughly
 starts with the beginning of the Christian Era. It
 appears probable there were special courts also
 where such legal restitution could be easily
 effected; even Kaikeyi could get her rājyaśikṣam
 if only she had demanded it. It looks as though
 by Kālidasa's time soon after, the nyāsa conception,
 though being remembered, was slowly losing its
 hold, Kālidasa referring to it rarely in a small
 simile for example at the end of the Vāc, Sākum,
 as व्रतविनोद इति वृत्ति or perhaps in the Vāc
 of the Vikramorvasi where we are told that the
 matron of the boy Ayus with whom Urvasi had
 entrusted her boy at birth restitutes him to his
 mother. But Bhāsa makes it the very starting
 point for his two dramas the Svapna and the

near by and the queen took shelter there and was delivered of a beautiful son. At his birth, a heavenly voice testified to the fact that the future Vidyadhara King was born. As the boy Udayana grew of age, he saw a snake being captured by a Śābara.

Taking pity on it, Udayana offered as a price to the Śābara his bracelet on which was engraved his father's name. The snake was liberated and in gratitude, bestowed on him the knowledge of various magical powers and also his lyre named Ghosavati. In due course, the bracelet found its way into the hands of the King who instituted proper enquiries and traced his longlost wife and child. Udayana was made the crown prince and Yaugantha, Rumanvān and Vasantaka were appointed his ministers.

Gradually, Udayana took a great liking for hunting and taming of the elephants with his lyre Ghosavati. He became eager to marry and from his inquiries elicited the fact that Vasavadatta the daughter of the Ujjayini King, Chanda Mahasena would be a suitable bride. But the fact of that King being his great enemy stood in the way of opening negotiations. Chanda Mahasena also was equally worried about a suitable husband for his sufficiently old

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Chāṇḍalla and refers to it in his Pratimā also. Both
Kautilya and Bhāṣa are very particular about the
legal restitution in the end. The sākṣins ^{are} in Kautilya
both upadrastārāḥ and śrotārāḥ, eye-
language both upadrastārāḥ and śrotārāḥ, eye-
witnesses and earwitnesses as Bhāṣa's jurors are
in Pratimā IV after 24th Verse (viz. Sumantha and
Sita; later Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadava VI - trailokyaśākin
In the presence of these Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadava
and with their blessing, and approval, is the Kingdom
offered back to Rama by Kaikeyi. Such trust property
would not carry any interest and was required to
be made good even if demanded at midnight.
If it was stolen away, the person who had received
the same, had to make it good, as was done for
example by Chāṇḍalla. Kautilya refers to such
sākṣins as prāṇyuktāḥ śūchayonumatāḥ and
the restitution had to be made in the presence
of accredited and trustworthy representatives as
for example in the Pratimā VI towards the very
end, sākṣimānnyāso niryātaṇitavah p 54, Deva

daughter. When he found that the best bridegroom would be Udayana, proud as he was, he invited him to teach his daughter music in his palace. Udayana equally proudly refused to go there, but offered to teach her if she were sent to his ^{own} palace. Mahasena's enquiries elicited the information that Udayana was too fond of elephant hunting. He secretly prepared a 'Robot' elephant, made it look exactly like a real elephant, stuffed it with soldiers, and allowed it to graze near the Vindhya hills, just outside the skirts of Udayana's kingdom. His spies did the rest and Udayana was misled into hunting the elephant which was reported to be far superior to Mahasena's Nadagiri. Heedless of the minister's warnings, Udayana started alone one evening with his Ghosavati to hunt, but was himself hunted, arrested and taken to Ujjayini. Chandamaharasa received him with public honours and requested him to teach his daughter music and Udayana had to agree. In Kausambi, the news of Udayana's capture caused great consternation. The minister Yaujandha left the kingdom in Rumanika's custody. Equipped with magical charms, Yaujandha managed to alter his appearance into that of a lunatic and Vasantika was also similarly misled with a

-dhar, echoing Kautilya's language - sāksimat acheta
-nam Kuryāt III.12 last verse. The affectionate Kanchuki

and the equally motherly Dhatri who have brought a
message from Vasavadattā's mother are constituted
into an ādhikarana or a special Court on the spot,
and their 'findings' convert the tragedy into a comedy!

While Baudhāyana, Gautama (earliest Kan

Kautilya) and Manu rank Keshaja second in the

list of the 12 kinds of sons, Kautilya puts the putrika

putra above the Keshaja whom he pushes to the third

place. Bhara follows Kautilya and makes Gurjo-

dhara insult the sons of Pandu as Parātmajās

almost echoing Kautilya's very words in the context

in the Dūtāvākya. Kautilya contrasts स्वयंजात or

औरस with परजात or क्षेत्रज - स्वयंजातः कृतक्रिययां

औरसः । तेन कुल्यः पुत्रिकापुत्रः । स्वगोत्रेणाप्यगोत्रेण वा

नियुक्तेन क्षेत्रजातः क्षेत्रजः पुत्रः । ... स्वयंजातः पितृ-

वन्धूनां च दयादः । परजातः संसर्तुं चेन्न न वन्धूनाम् ।

Duryodhana ridicules the Pandavas in Dūtāvākya ११

धर्मसजो वायुसुतश्च भीमो भ्रातार्जुनो मे त्रिदशेन्द्रसन्तुः

यमोऽथ तबश्चिन्तुते विनीतो सर्वे स भृत्याः कुशलोपपन्नाः ॥

strange appearance. (Perhaps Nala's deformity after the snake bite in the Vanaparwa might have given the cue for this deformity). Thus deformed and disguised, these two managed to contact Udayana in his 'honoured prison' without exciting suspicion at all. Yajñanetra taught Udayana magic charms by which Udayana was able to break his chains and win Vasavadatta's heart. Vasantaka managed to stay with Udayana in his own palace. Slowly the princess' affection for her father waned and Udayana became her one reigning passion. As soon as Yajñanetra came to know of this, he quietly prevailed upon Udayana to be revenged on Mahasena who had contrived to capture him by an elephant trick by a counter elephant trick. Udayana agreed and the plan worked very well. Mahasena quietly managed to swallow the insult and sent his best compliments to the couple who were married with great rejoicing in Kausambi.

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Here he obviously insinuates in Kautilya's language
that they are dāyādas or inheritors, if not all of their
samskartāras or their niyukta or putative fathers
gods and not of Pāṇdu. The later Dharmasāstra writers,
like Hārita, Viśiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Nārada, Manu retain
the Kṣetrāja in the privileged place next only to the
auraṣa, write under Kautilya's influence, Yājñalkya
and Devaṭa push him to the third place, ranking the
putrikāputra higher. Bhasa's दुतावक्या (Verse 30, Dūtāvakya) must have acted almost as a
bombshell on the later lawgivers favouring the Kṣetrāja
and Manu IX.64 roundly condemns niyoga. The parti-
cular word bandhuta investing the adhikāra or needed
spiritual qualification for performing obsequial rites
according to our Smṛtis deserves to be noted here.
Here it must be noted that though for arguments
sake, Duryodhana called Pāṇdu's sons parāśrayas
in Dūtāvakya 21, he does recognise them as his
brothers and asks his son Duryaya in the Uru-
vraṇṇa to offer the Pāṇḍavas pītṛ tarpana or
sacred libations of water, ^{to him along with them} naively suggesting that

Another Jain legend - Dhammapasa Appamada
Vagga - H.O.S. Vol XXVIII p 247 ff - from Dr. Saunp's
introduction: - Parantapa was a King of Kausambi.
His queen was once dressed in red garments. So she
was mistaken to be a slice of flesh by a bird and
was carried away to the Himalayas where she gave
birth at the time of dawn (Udaya) to a son उदेन.
A Rajarshi took pity on her and gave her shelter
in his hermitage. Gradually the queen made love
to Rajarshi and they lived as husband and wife.
Some time after Parantapa died and the Queen
induced the Rajarshi to secure the Throne of
Kausambi to her son Udena, the legal heir.
The Rajarshi gave Udena a lute and taught
him a charm by which he could tame elephants.
Udena's mother then gave her son her red
garment and a ring which she had from King
Parantapa. Udena took them all and entered
Kausambi with a large herd of tamed elephants.
He was welcomed and crowned King.

Chanda Paffota, King of Ujjayini grew
jealous of ^{Udena} ~~Udayana~~ and captured him through a
mechanical elephant containing warriors. Then

though they were Kshatriya sons, they had not as yet lost their special 2nd place in the list of the sons as the privileged place is only lost after Brāhmin. But this is only for argument's sake; ^{unending} later, Duryodhana urges his son in verse 5-3 ^{unending}
 स्मृता येन मुनिविरह्य विपुलं श्रेष्ठमप्ययं भुजं
 देयं पादुसुतेन मम समं नामनिशाने जलम् ॥

When Bhāsa in *Dūtāghāto* verse 16 declared
 स्मृता पुत्रशतानि हि (श्री १६), that the daughter was far better than a hundred sons, he seems to be linking him self with the 'dūhitrā dāyādhas' of Yāska in the *Nirukta*, *Naighantukakāṇḍa* III. 3. These, according to Yāska in the 8th cen B.C., had decided that a daughter could also inherit and be a 'bandhu' and perform obsequial rites exactly as a son can do nowadays. This tradition seems to have lingered on among the Smṛtis for some centuries and Bhāsa seems to have remembered this tradition also. Evidently in Bhāsa's time, the woman could easily own property and could perform religious or spiritual rites almost exactly like a son. The legal or spiritual

Paffota asked Videna to teach him the art of taming elephants. When Videna declined, Paffota asked him to teach the art to his daughter Vasuladatta. It was arranged that each should not see the other and the tuition be given with a curtain in between them. But one day the pupil persisted in mispronouncing the lesson, whereupon the king in anger pulled the curtain aside and they fell in love with each other. After some time Vasuladatta agreed to elope with him to Kausambi and with the permission of her father, used to go out with Videna at nights with the pretext of collecting certain herbs useful for the art of training elephants. One day they set out on the same pretext and made good their escape to Kausambi. On their way Paffota's officers tried to catch them but Videna throwing down bags of gold coins diverted their attention from pursuing to money. Vasuladatta became the chief queen of Videna though he had already 2 other queens named Megandhya and Samvata.

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disabilities imposed upon, for example, by the later
law-digests like those of Haradatta do not seem
to have been as yet imposed upon her and this
fact seems to have been clearly hinted at in *Ghāṇṇī* III
अर्थः कुर्वन् नारी यानारी सार्वतः उमात् कथा a woman
could become a man by virtue of her artha or wealth
That she did not labour under any religious or
spiritual disability is also clear by implication
when in the *Pratimā* III.5, the Sūdra alone (and not
the woman) was prohibited from reciting the Vedic
mantras while offering worship. वाचस्पत्युपनिषद्
अथ वाचस्पत्युपनिषद्, अथ वाचस्पत्युपनिषद्... The woman could
easily own considerable property independently
as is clear from the *Ghāṇṇī* and the *Pratimā*.
Bhasa's respect for family life made him even
prostitutes like *Vasantasenā* and *Hidimbā* so
as to fit into an affectionate family atmosphere.
As a matter of fact, he wrote the drama *Pratimā*
with the express purpose of vindictive Indian
womanhood. Everybody has abused Kaikeyi

~~Pradyota~~ legend of Vatsaraja Udayana + Mahasena
Pradyota - from the late Dr P. G. Gupte's article in
B.O.R.I. Vol II p. 1.

Pradyota the King of Ujjain wished that his daughter Vasavadatta should be trained in music by Udayana famous for taming elephants with his lute. So Pradyota placed an artificial elephant in a forest near Kausambi and concealed some warriors therein. Udayana was lured to tame it and in his attempt he was taken a prisoner to Ujjain and was asked by Pradyota to teach music to Vasavadatta. Udayana was told that Vasavadatta was blind and the latter was told that Udayana was suffering from a contagious disease. Thus it was arranged that Udayana should give her lessons from behind a curtain. Vasavadatta hearing the music fell in love with him and was anxious to see him. One day she began to sing in disorder and the teacher and the taught fell out violently. They drew aside the curtain in rage. Thus meeting in person, they began to love each other. Once the

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and Sita also for her having castigated Lakshmana
just before she was abducted. This reminds us of
the Brhadāraṇyaka where the highest philosophy
could be taught to the wife who was not denied
either earthly or heavenly heritage according to
her own inclinations. His conception of the woman or
stri was that she was as exalted as Śrī, प्रियं
स्त्रियो नाम सत्कार्यं भूतिमिच्छता। पाहिता निगृहीता च श्रीः
स्त्री भवति भारत - आनुशासनिक पर्व - ~~XXXXVI~~ . 15. Even
according to the Rgveda III. 31.1, a daughter's son
was as good as a ~~son~~ and was not looked down upon.

The Śunaś'ṣepa story in the Aitareya
Brāhmaṇa has been usually spoken of as
having inspired the Madhyama Vyāso, but
we are tempted to believe that this was conceived
as a result of the social injustice that was perpe-
trated on the madhyama son who as a result
of Gautama's legislation in his XXVIII (p. 439,
East Oriental Library series 1907 (ed.)) had to satisfy
himself with the unwanted furniture or portion

elephant Nalagiri got out of control and Pradyota sought Udayana's help. Udayana agreed to pacify the elephant if Vasavadatta was by his side on Bhadravati. Necessary permission being granted, he mounted with Vasavadatta the elephantess.

In the meantime, Yauvanasha wanted to take back to Kausambi his master Udayana with Ghesavati the lute and Vasavadatta. So he collected in four pots the urine of the elephants Bhadravati with the assistance of Kanchanamala the maid servant of Vasavadatta; Directly Udayana to proceed to Kausambi, he spread the pots of urine on the way of Nalagiri which was commissioned to pursue the couple. Nalagiri lagged behind smelling the pots and Udayana and his party reached Kausambi safely.

Purnaliipa Pillai suspects that the Paisāche work of Gunādhya might have been the Tamil Perumfada itself. So does Dr Swaminatha Ayyar. Legends of Udayana are found in Attakatha of Dhammapada I. 21-3; in Divyāvadana XXVI p. 28, and also in the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāsti

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of the ancestral property. The eldest could enjoy a $\frac{1}{20}$ preferential share called *uddhāra* and pick out the best cows, horses, or strong bulls or other perfect furniture. After he had taken away his share, the youngest was asked to choose his share and after both had chosen whatever they wanted, from among the things leftover, one-eyed bulls, old bulls, tailless and hornless beasts, tables or chairs wanting in one leg and so on the *madhyama* had to choose. The passage needs

to be quoted at length: ऊर्ध्वं पितुः पुत्राः दिव्यं भजेरन्।
निवृत्ते रजसि मातुः, जीवति वे अति, सर्वे वा पूर्वजस्येतरान्
विभृयात् पितृवत्। विभागो तु धर्मवृद्धिः। विंशतिभागो ज्येष्ठस्य
मिथुनमुभयतो दद्युक्तो रथः गोवृषः। (अथमुद्धारे ज्येष्ठस्य।
मिथुनं गोमिथुनं। उभयतो दत्तः अश्वश्चत्वार्यर्धभाः तेषां
मथासंभवं अन्यतमाभ्यां युक्तः रथः गोवृषश्च। काणखोर-
कूटवण्टा मध्यमस्यानेकाश्चेत् - काणः = one-eyed; खोरः =
वृष्टः, खोट इति पाठे पादविकलः = wanting in one leg,
कूटः = इष्टविकलः = wanting in a horn; वण्टः = विलोपित-
वाक्यः = tailless. अविशेषितत्वात् गवादीनामपि यथा-

संभवः दृष्टव्यः. The rest of the text in *Bentama* is not necessary for our present purpose, but this is sufficient,

Vādis. The jaina legends summarised herein might have been utilised by Bhase. Most probably Gunadhya might have flourished half a century prior to Bhase, if the latter was not a younger contemporary.

I believe, to show that the Dharmasāstrakāras were
 too unjust to the madhyama who was supposed to be
 almost spiritually useless. Kautilya also similarly
 declared that the madhyama was only to choose one-
 eyed things, कर्णोत्तरः ३१: मर्यादाः १०२. III. ६. As
 Bhāṣa himself remarks in the context, यद्यपि मेष्ठः
 or the best in the family; the Dharmasāstrins of the time
 had decreed him to be pitr̥sama or equal to the father
 and in calamities, the eldest son alone caters to the spiri-
 -tual needs of the father ३५६ अथ पिता गृहः श्रेष्ठकुले
 मर्यादाः १०२ etc Verses १७ to १९. Maternal affection eagerly hugs
 up the youngest and the madhyama has thus no
 claims, either spiritual or affectionate, on the family.
 It was evidently this injustice that Bhāṣa desired
 to focus his searchlight upon and he has succeeded
 eminently as for example when a dramatist ridicules
 the dowry system or similar social inequities. The
 lawgivers soon opened their eyes to this social inequity
 and soon after, Yajñavalkya, in about the 1st Cen. A.D.
 actually decreed that the brothers should all

Bhāsa's Vidyāsakas.

The Vidyāsaka, the mainstay of the humor in Sanskrit dramas, has a rather stunted growth, starting rather gloriously, in Bhāsa in the 2nd cen. B.C. His Santuṣṭa is perhaps the greatest comic actor in all Sanskrit dramatic literature; he rises to his full stature in Śūdraka's Maitreya (almost soon after Bhāsa) whose wit and humor are even infectious; Kālidāsa's Gaṇṭama (towards the beginning of the next century perhaps) in his first drama Mālarikā-jimīṭha also claims certain qualities exactly similar to Maitreya's and even outgrows himself to the point of making the entire action therein start and even centre round him. But in his later two dramas, this unfortunate character has already started on his downward trend in order to allow sufficient growth for the characters of the heroes and heroines therein. Pushing further ahead on to the 7th century we

receive an equal share of the ancestral property,
 the obnoxious *gyais:thya* or primogeniture and *gyaith*
 -*amsa* or extra preferential $\frac{1}{20}$ share for the eldest
 brother in consideration of his catering to the spiritual
 needs were completely removed from the Statute book.
 सर्वे वा ह्युः समं हिनः *yājñ. II. 116* or विभजेत सुतः
 अतोः ह्युः रिपुं ऋणं समम् 119.

The *gyais:thya* or primogeniture refers to the
Sharmasasthins decreeing that the eldest alone should
 inherit the entire paternal impartible estate. This
 eldest could be compared with the paterfamilias in
 Rome, for example, where also he was entitled legally
 to the enjoyment of the entire paternal estate.
Kautilya states अथ राजस्य हि सर्वं योऽभिप्रायः पुरातनः
 I. 17 p. 35. Following this dictum, *Bhāsa* makes the
 eldest son in the senior line of the *Kauravas*, *Duryo-*
dhana, according to his version, inherit the entire
 impartible estate. The epic had made *Judhis:thina*
 the eldest and had made *Bhima* and *Duryodhana*
 born on the same day. *Dhritarashtra* in the epic was

find there may be plentiful opportunities for the 'comedy of errors' in the three dramas of the Emperor Harṣavardhana. He does provide the springboard for the fun and frolic, but obviously, he has become more and more conventional and even artificial; in his last drama the Nāgānanda, he is even pushed out of the stage to provide room for the serious Sānta rasa and the message of Ahimsā. Bhavabhūti's puritanism has no sympathy with him almost exactly like Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa whose vigorous drive would also not compromise with him. Rājasekhari's two Vidūṣakas are also unimportant and conventional, being mere appendages to the hero and the master they serve.

This 'narmasubhīt' stands head and shoulders over his compeer, the English clown or Falstaff in Shakespeare. The latter's stupidity is the butt-end of ridicule and his presence could even be dispensed with, being in no way vital to the development of the plot or

worried about Duryodhana's right to the throne in succession
to Yudhishtira's legalised, arguing that his son was born
a few hours before Ashvini, but he was forced to accept
tacitly Yudhishtira's claim. But Bhishma cleverly put
aside even Yudhishtira's claim and with a stroke of his
pen, made Duryodhana the eldest as is clear from Bhismar
pleading in the Panchaj 37 - ज्येष्ठो भवति प्रणयिनः वसिष्ठकुटुम्बे
The reason why Bhishma, Drone and other elders stuck to
Duryodhan through thick and thin is, on this supposition,
Very clear (much better than the Anāyata plea - अनायात
पुरुषो दासः दामस्त्वर्थे न कुर्यादिति ^{इति सत्यं महाशय}
If the Pandavas chose to deny themselves the paternal
affection afforded by Duryodhana, it was no fault of his
pater families. Dhrtarastra also affectionately calls his
son - अष्टादश अक्षौहिणी महारज in the war change some
after Verse 40 (P. 500), implying that he was the rightful
owner of the 11+7 aksauhinis, of even those 7 regiments
belonging to the Pandavas even. Dependence on the elder
and his duty to protect his people were the foundation
of society and admittedly constituted the keynote of
domestic policies in Ancient India as is clear from the contem.

action of the drama. But our Vidusakas throw their
lot, heart and soul, into the action of the drama,
living entirely for the sake of the hero whom they
serve faithfully to the very end. The English clown
answers to a single description wherever he appears
on the stage, but the Sanskrit Vidusaka, a Brahmin
(debased though he be), has different characteristics
features in different dramas, radiating life and
freshness all round by his jovial repartees even while
serving his master with sincere devotion. As such,
the earlier Vidusakas at least pulsate fully with life
and can even be met with in our street corners. They
fully deserve the appellation citizen of the world.
Fully confident of the part they play and also of
their capacities, they play their parts triumphantly
in the game of life.

Coming to Bhasa's Vidusakas in particular,
he provides us with a definition of his faithful
friend in IV.21, Chārudatta. The hero says in
the context: 'It would be a happy thing if the
Vidusaka has heard about my escape, other

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poorany Jātaka records. The following sloka translated from
Corwell's Edn. VII p. 326 - is very interesting - मातापिताः प्रभारं
अभारं नीतिविराजितान् । सर्वे ज्येष्ठस्य ते भाराः । इदं नीतिविराजितम्
(The word भार used in the second line here reminds
us of the title कर्णभार of Bhāsa where also it is similarly
used). Manu's rule was also similar - ज्येष्ठ इव तु
गृह्णीयात् किञ्च धनमशेषतः (IX. 105) and we have
already referred to the way in which Bhāsa echoes
the word 'Vinikurvita' in Manu IX. 213 - योज्येष्टो
विनिकुर्वीत सर्वान् भ्रातृन्यगियसः । सोऽज्येष्ठः स्यात्
अभागश्च विनियन्तव्यश्च राजभिः ॥ When he made
Rama say in the Pratimā - न ज ख तु परिभोगेर्विनि
भ्रातरो मे I. 14. By the way, we might guess that
Manu also might have been influenced by Bhāsa
or by some other lawgiver who denounced the jyeṣṭha.
Well, continuing the thread of our argument, not
understanding this secret master stroke of Bhāsa
by which Duryodhana is made the eldest in the
senior line, latter-day dramatists like Bhatta
Narayana in Sanskrit (and even Rama in Kannada

wise, he will certainly put an end to his life. Rather, no use will be served if I undertake anything without him. He was practically my own body divided into two, - so completely was he identifying himself with me, - he becomes the laughing stock in the gatherings of the people, a warrior in battle, a teacher in woe, daring when confronted by enemies, he was, indeed, a festivity for my heart. (सुखं भवेद्यदि मे निर्गमनं तेन श्रुतं भवेत्, न श्रुतं तेन विपश्यते स ब्राह्मणः। अथवा किं मम सर्वारंभैस्तेन विना। स हि, गोष्ठीषु हास्यः, समरेषु योधः, शोके गुरुः, साहसिकः परेषु। महोत्सवो मे हृदि किं प्रकाशैः, द्विधा विभक्तं खलु मे शरीरम्॥

This Santusha makes his first appearance in the Chārudatta in the second act. He is ready to face any danger for the sake of the hero. He accompanies the hero to the royal palace warning him of the risks he might have to face. We next find him after Arimāraka gets the magic ring from the Vidhyādhara. With the ring in his finger, both Arimāraka and the Vidusaka become invisible and enter the princess Kurangi's apartments

literature) have tried to enlist our sympathies in Duryodhana's favour, but failed rather miserably. This explains why Bhāṣa has eminently succeeded.

Kautilya in another context VIII.2 - remark
 राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः. This reminds us of Vālmiki:
 Ayodhyā kanda XXVII - 34 - राजा सत्यं च धर्मश्च राजा
 कुरुवतां कुरुं । राजा मातापिता चैव राजा हितकरो नृणाम् ॥
 Echoing both these, Bhāṣa says - एकप्रकारसंसिद्धं
 कोरलराज्यं कृत्वा p.255 in Pratimā I towards the end.
 A little later in the same context, he again remarks
 ननु वक्तव्यं एकशरीरसंसिद्धा पृथिवी राक्षितव्या p.258.
 The dominating personality of the King consolidates
 in his own person the entire kingdom and centralises
 all power into himself. The other aspect that the ministers
 are also an important 'limb' of the kingdom and the
 proper coordination of these 'rājyāṅgas', the King and
 the ministers, is emphasised by Kautilya in I.5 last
 Verse - ब्राह्मणेनैषितं क्षत्रं मंत्रिमंत्राभिरक्षितं । जयत्यजितं
 अत्यंतं शास्त्रानुगमश्चक्षितं ॥ and also in VIII.21. राजा राज्यं
 इति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः. Bhāṣa echoes the same idea in the
 last Verse of 4 vim I. p.117 - देवदहान-

where the hero has already lived for about a year eluding the grasp of the police. Knowing every inch of these apartments, and aided by his magic ring, he enters and surprises the heroine exactly at the moment when she is trying to commit suicide. Kurangi is terribly alarmed by the sudden appearance of the hero and begins to weep. The Vidusaka also tries to sob in sympathy, but finds it difficult to make the tears roll down his cheeks. He however manages somehow to produce an impression of weeping. When the hero is asking him not to sob so loudly lest they be soon detected, Nalinikā, already known to the hero knocks from outside as the door was already bolted from inside by the heroine before she had attempted to strangle herself. The hero signs to the Vidusaka to open the door and the latter does so. Nalinikā is at first alarmed by the presence of intruders particularly because the Vidusaka, in a rather ugly fashion, calls himself a woman. The familiar appearance of the hero is rather reassuring to her and she slowly recollects that she has seen this Brahmin in the company of the hero when she first called on him and invited him to live in the princess' apartments. The Vidusaka continues to

धर्मः प्रागेव चिन्त्यः सचिवगतमतिः प्रेक्षितव्या स्व बुद्ध्या
प्रशङ्गाद्यौ रागादौषौ मृदुपुरुषगुणौ कालयोगेन कार्यौ ।

शेयं लोकानुवृत्तं परमरत्नयनैर्मल्लुकं प्रेक्षितव्यं
रक्षो यन्नादिहात्मा वणशिरसि पुनस्सोऽपि नावेक्षितव्यं

As anybody can see for himself, all the four lines
are replete with Kautilyan ideas and phrases.

Similarly, if Bhāṣa remarks (Śvapna VI.7) - कातरा ये

ऽपशक्ता वा नोत्साहस्तेषु जायते । प्रायेण हि नरेन्द्रप्रीः

सोत्साहैरेव भुज्यते ॥, he seems to be approving of

Kautilya's remark in X.1. उत्साहप्रभवयोः उत्साहः प्रेयः

स्वयं हि राजा इन्द्रो बलवान् अरोगः कृतास्त्रः दण्डद्वितीयो

अपि शक्तः प्रभाववान् राजानं जेतुम् । अस्योऽपि चास्य

दण्डस्तेजसा कृत्यकरो भवति ॥

the 'upapāpe' or secret sowing seeds of
dissension in the enemy's camp, so highly

spoken of by Kautilya finds its best exposition

in Yaśodhanāyana's policy in the Pratignā (This

is imitated by Viśākhaḍatta in his delineation

of Chāṇakya). The disguise of Yaśodhanāyana

as a mad man or Pradyota's capture of Udayana

by an elephant hunt seems to have been suggested

Speak enigmatically by referring to himself as a Brahmin because of his sacred thread, at the same time also as a red-robed ascetic because of his bark garments; he continues that he could also be a S'ramanaka if he cast away his clothes and became naked. The Vidusaka quietly asks the maid what she is doing and is informed that they have just then prepared a bathing pool for Kurangi. The Vidusaka assents that the bathing pool will not be of any use for the weeping or the hungry princess who must be provided with a square meal immediately. He avers that he is ready to occupy the foremost and honoured place in the dinner party as he is very hungry now. The maid wants to know how the hero has managed to enter in spite of the bitter fact that he has been practically hounded out by the guards previously. The unfortunate hero, who has been all along itching for Kurangi's stealthy caresses, finds the presence of the Vidusaka and the maid a delaying slip betwixt the lip and the lip' and quietly suggests that Santushta would tell her all about it out side in the quadrangle. Nalinika understands the hint, but the muddle-headed Vidusaka refuses to leave though

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by the *Yoga Vāmanam* chapter of Kautilya *III.2*. The dignified reply which *Yauṇandharāyana* gives to *Sālankāyana* easily reminds one of the dignified reaction of Porus to Alexander and might even have been prompted by it. Continuing in the same strain, *सहितमिदं करणं प्रतिगृह्णीति* in *Pancha I.30* is used in the Kautilyan sense of legalising a document by the ceremonial pouring of water into the receiver's hand as explained in Kautilya *III.1*. - *पश्चिमं येषां करणं* *ādesādhivarjam Śiddheryam*. After this, neither party could retract or retrace from the contract.

Theft was, according to Yaska one of the seven most heinous crimes, even heading the list of the *mahāpātakas*. *Āpastamba*, one of our earliest *Smṛti*-*Kāras*, perhaps in the 6th cen B.C., prescribed death for any type of theft, and such severe punishment was really responsible for the fact that the Greek historians could rarely report any case of theft in the mighty armies of Chandragupta consisting of 4 million men. Gradually, this capital punishment was limited to the theft of most precious metals like gold and

he is dragged by her. The latter cries out "Calamity! alas!" and his antics amuse the hero and heroine who laugh at his expense. The offended Vidusaka retorts that the heroine's action a little while ago in trying to strangle herself and forgetting the same fully as soon as a thunderclap was heard was more funny. This is rather an alarming revelation for the heroine. Nalinikā tries further to induce the Vidusaka to come out, but the latter, not understanding the reason, says he will go out only if she provides him with a meal. The maid promises one, but the Vidusaka refuses to heed her empty invitation, arguing that the mere talk of food could not drive away his villainousness. The maid is therefore driven to the necessity of removing her ornaments and offering them to him, but even after this, the Vidusaka persists in remaining there alone to narrate the story of their present entry into these apartments. The nurse again drags him by his hand; he wants to bid farewell to the princess before going out; the maid asserts that she has a right to drag him since she has presented him with her ornaments and has become her lover. The Vidusaka protests

(Continued in the 4th page)

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Manu IX.277 prescribed the cutting off of the fingers in the case of the first theft; if repeated, both the hands and the feet were to be cut, and on the third occasion, he was to be awarded capital punishment. In Kālidasa's time, it is clear that the thief was to be punished with death as the policemen intimidate the supposed thief, the fisherman by telling him that he would be torn up by ~~dogs~~ vultures or dogs - ~~गृध्रैर्वह्निर्वाह्यः~~ गृध्रैर्वह्निर्वाह्यः, इदं गुरुं वा दह्यति. This was the result of the Brahminical revival under Pusyamitra, which became firmly established under his son Agnimitra. Chandragupta, about a century and a half previously, perhaps acting under the influence of his famous minister Kautilya, put it on the statute book that Brahmins, ascetics and sick women were not to be executed for theft and introduced the system of fines and punishment. In his Arthashastra IV.10 (p.226) Kautilya prescribes cutting off of the left hand or the two legs or a fine of nine hundred - ~~वा मृष्टा वा दह्यते~~ वा मृष्टा वा दह्यते: न वशतो वा दण्डः. This was sarcastically ridiculed as a श्रमद्वयः, a boon granted to the rich merchant who could

1. Footnote: Rock Edict of Ashoka - Ashoka Library Vol. 1951.

p. 15. नृदत्तिकान्तमन्तरं न भूतपूर्व धर्ममहत्तरा नाम। त्रयोदशवर्ष-
भिविक्रान्तमया धर्ममहत्तराः कृताः। ते सर्वपापहेतुं व्यापृताः
धर्माधिष्ठाताय च धर्मवृद्ध्या। हितसुरवाय धर्मयुक्त्य, यवनकम्बोज
गन्धराणां जवमन्येऽप्यपरान्ताः। भूतार्थेषु बाह्येषु अनाथेषु वृद्धेषु
हितसुरवाय, धर्मयुक्त्य अपरिबाधाय व्यापृतास्ते। बन्धनवधस्य
प्रतिविधानाय अपरिबाधाय मोक्षाय जैवमनुबन्धं प्रजावन्त इति
वीकृताधिकारा इति वा महान्त इति वा व्यापृताः। त इह बाह्येषु
नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु मातृणां भगिनीनामेवमपरान्ते शक्तिषु
सर्वत्र व्यापृताः। etc. The translation of the passage under-
lined by me in that Edition is: to promote the welfare and

escape by paying 900 standard coins of the times, corresponding roughly to our rupees - a small moiety of his ill-gained 'blackmarket' gains - in the Dasakumāracharita Uttara Khanda II. 44. In that context, a little later, Kautilya introduces for the first time into the lawbook the motive-aspect which should weigh with the Judge in inflicting the punishment - पुरुषं अपराधं च कारणं गुरुत्वात् । अनुबन्धं तदात्तं च देशकालौ समीक्ष्य ॥.

This word अनुबन्ध seems to be a very important word and I hope will decide Bhāṣa's ~~age~~ satisfaction. Gautama, in his Dharmasūtras XII. 4 - पुरुषं -

- इत्यपराधानुबन्ध-विज्ञानादनुनियोगः, had, slightly earlier in the 5th cen B.C. directed the Judge to take stock of this anubandha or crime motive, but it was reserved for Kautilya to draw out the full implications therefrom. It was reserved for another

greater Maurya, Asoka, soon after, in his famous Pillar Edict V¹ to use this word further by extending its connotation to include even remission of punishment. When he directed the officers of his Dharma department to periodically

and remove troubles (3147474) of those engaged in Dharma;
to prevent (unjust) imprisonment and loss of life and for
safety and deliverance, giving due consideration to persons
with large families or official responsibilities or are high-
ranked. Vincent Smith's Translation (3rd Edn. Oxford 1919) p. 168
is more helpful to my standpoint: they (i.e. my censors or
high officers) are also employed in the revision of (sentence
of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalty
or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having
children, instigation, or advanced years. Dr Smith's Comment
is certainly helpful to my standpoint: Jayaswal (J.B.O. Res.
society IV-144-6) rightly explains the technical terms as
referring to the Censors' power of modifying the sentence
of convicts on the specific grounds authorized by the law.
books. Badha (vadha) seems to mean 'execution with torture'.
The Atharashra distinguishes instantaneous death as Siddha
vadha. Ambaudha certainly means criminal motive or intention
as in Manu VII, 126, compared with ibid, VII. 16. and other legal texts.
Paja (and the variants) apparently means having children.
Aparigraha here may be interpreted as 'reduction of penalty'.
The word occurs above in the sense of 'freeing from worldly
cares', but in that case the 4 text has the preferable reading
aparigraha 'freeing from greed' which probably represents
the original draft. The two forms are fully discussed in J.B.O.

call for reports about the motive for the crime, the offender's family's helpless condition in consequence of the punishment, the free agency² or otherwise of the offender, and also his old age. Manu, slightly later, in VII. 16. used the word in the sense of both sentiment and motive and directs the judge to note the time, place, capacity and knowledge of the criminal in awarding the punishment. तं देशकालौ शक्तिं च

विद्यां जीवे ह्य तत्त्वतः। यथा हृतः संप्रणये नरेष्वन्यायवर्तिषु। Though he might not have actually used the word अनुबंध in this context, he uses it in VII. 126

अनुबंधं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधौ जीवे ह्य दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत्॥ Slightly later, Manu also uses the word पापानुबंध and the commentators Medhātithi and

Jyotishka explain it by पौनः पुन्येन प्रवृत्तिः, करणं वा अनुवर्धते, प्रयुज्यते तेन; it is more in consonance with Manu's spirit to explain it as according the punishment

with due cognisance of the motive, repetition of the crime, and similar extenuating motives. Soon after Yama

Nārada in Parivista 38 uses अनुबंध - अपराधं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधौ जीवे ह्य दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत्॥ Valmiki in his Āchārādhyāya last sloka declared

श्रीत्वापराधं देशकालं वलमथापि ॥ वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डेषु Nārada II. 39. चक्षुः कुरुते कार्यमस्वतंत्रं यथापि ॥ अहं तदिति शत्रुधर्मज्ञानविराजितः

1915 p. 99-106. Kantabhiḥkāra is I think, correctly explained by
Gajendral (loc. cit) as meaning 'acting under instigation'.
The word abhikāra occurs early in this edict in the sense of
author. Etc. The last word here referred to कर्तृभिकार appears
as कर्तृभिकार in the Adyar Library Prākrit Pāli Version on p
16 and is explained as कृताधिकार on p. 15, but Gajendral
seems to read it as कर्तृभिकार. When Gajendral remarks 'the
word 'abhikāra' occurs early in this edict in the sense of
author, he seems to refer to the passage explained in
Sanskrit in the Adyar Library ed. on p 13 = कलसाणं दुक्कं
यो पदि कुयित कलसाणमस्य स दुक्कं करोति । तन्मया बहु
कलसाणं कृतं

पातयेत् ॥ Here again, he has not used the word अनुबोधि
 directly, but the idea is there and after him, the Smṛti
 writers practically omit the word, perhaps thinking
 that it was sufficiently emphasised and the judges
 would necessarily be guided by such a merciful outlook
 just because our moral training had ingrained in
 us such ideas, and had made our dispensing justice
 bless him that gives and also him that takes it. Gradually,
 Capital sentence for Theft, which was envisaged
 by Gautama and Āpastamba ^{in about 5th Cen. B.C.} was removed from the
 statutebook altogether and Kāmandaka decreed
 मृदुत्वपराधेषु दण्डं प्राणानिकं यजेत् । अत्रै राजापहृतात्
 दण्डः प्रशस्यते ॥ XVII. 17. p. 214. T. & S. Edn. 1912. Parāśara
 had already introduced the system of the Criminal
 himself proclaiming to the world his offence and
 almost beg for pardon at every house-door - अहं
 दुष्कृतकर्म वै महापातककारकः । अस्मिन्ने द्वारि तिष्ठामि मिक्षामि
 क्षम्यताम् ॥. Gautama also III. 5. 23 et seq. prescribed
 a course of प्रायश्चित्त by complete fasting for a day, three
 days, or even 7 days to expiate for sins. Our lawgivers were
 also prompted by similar merciful motives when

that his soft hands should not be violently dragged. All the same, he is violently dragged out, and makes his exit once for all.

This Vidusaka needs being reminded at every step of the fact, for example, that he would become visible if he would leave the hand of the hero. When asked by the hero to come up quickly, he compares his action to that of a bridegroom about to be married - कृतसमावर्त इव वदुःकः; his comparison of himself to a naked and blind अमणिक is rather amusing. Similarly his comparison of himself to a prostitute baulked of her nightly enjoyment - अशुचि भोगा प्राकृतगणिकेव रात्रौ पार्श्वतः शयितुम् - to sleep only in 'single blessedness' after all, is entertaining. The Brahmin chafing because of his not having been invited, - आमंत्रण विप्रसूय इव आक्षेपः अहोरात्रं चिन्तयति; sitting pensively day and night is another charming simile. His observation are true to life, as for example the way in which persons born with a silver spoon in their mouth - सुवर्णमुखाः as he calls, princes like Avimaraksha are oblivious to the changing vicissitudes of their own family even to the extent of throwing themselves headlong into lustful passion. The prince in the context has even forgotten

they declared that old people beyond 80, young boys
 less than 16, women and sick people were to be inflicted
 only half the punishment and also the *prāyāścitta*
 अशीतिर्मस्य वर्षाणि वाक्ते वायूतफेडः। प्रायश्चित्तमहीति
 स्त्रियो व्याधिरागिव वी॥ (attributed to ^{Bhāṣava in} Gaṇtama Dhammasūtra
 com. p175 - Anandāshrama Edn). The humane character
 of our legislation can be inferred from the way in
 which these legislators suggested *prāyāścitta* or expiation
 for sins committed. Gaṇtama in the 5th cen B. refers
 to such an atonement by which an adulterous
 wife need not leave her ^{husband's} protecting roof and
 continue there as though nothing had happened.
 Paithinasi, another Smṛtikāra, referred to such
prāyāścittas being adjusted to the capacity and
 age of the delinquent - *प्रतिज्ञां कृतं दण्डं दण्डं*
प्रकृत्ययेत्. If modern psychologists have recently
 advocated reformatory punishment to the culprit by
 looking to the past, the present and the future of the
 criminal, Kautilya in his *Arthasāstra* and
 Aśoka in his Rock Edicts finely anticipated
 them even in the centuries prior to the birth of
 Christ. Kautilya also advocated a system of

that he has now become a ~~stupid~~ as a result of a curse
and persists madly in his passion. But the Vidusaka's
devotion to his chosen master/let the better of his impulses
and he cleverly eludes the grasp of his Brahmin friends
only to rush to his friend's side. The story of the way
in which he is deceived by a maid who first invites
him for a meal is really entertaining. His Confession
of his inability to read, his characterisation of the Rāma
game as a ~~stupid~~ ~~stupid~~ from which he has studied as
many as five slokas within a year are other interesting
bits from him.

The Vidusaka in the Chārudatta shares some
characteristics with his friend in the Avimśaraka.
He is also equally devoted to his master. His devotion
is exemplary and elicits the tribute from his friend
the hero that he identifies himself completely with
him in all his sorrows and joys - ~~राजसुखदुःख~~ ~~राजसुखदुःख~~.
The hero compliments himself for his possession
of a faithful wife, a tried friend in the Vidusaka
and his own unflinching courage. This Vidusaka
also has not become the conventional glutton,
eager to eat a lot and worship his belly. It is

fines and graded system of punishment. And on the
 literary level also, in the Kadambari for example,
 Bāna (rather his son in the uttarabhāga) declares:
 सर्वः आविनयप्रवृत्तः अनुत्तमपद्धिना न निवर्तते - P 631.N.S
 Edn of 1896, that everybody started on the path of
 crime cannot be reformed except through sincere
 repentance. Similarly though the ^{working} story of the curse
 in the same story was जन्मनि जन्मनि उत्पन्नानु-
रागः अप्राप्त हृदयं लुभास मागम सुखः जीवितमुत्सृज-
ति, i.e. in every birth you should begin to
 love some damsel, but with your love unequalled
 by union with your sweetheart, you should die
 the moon calmly reflected that if the spirit of
 the curse be adhered to, the suffering would be
 unending; but if for example, the letter of the
 law could be satisfied, जन्मनि could be interpre-
 ted as one birth and another जन्मनि by another
 birth; in other words, the letter of the law
 could be satisfied if only two 'janmas' or

interesting to note that this Vichusaka even refuses an invitation for a meal and is satisfied with small quantities of food as and when available - मम दुर्लभं अस्वच्छादि शेषं जानाति, अल्पेनापि तुष्यति । बहु कर्माणि ओदनभरं भक्षिष्यति दीयमानम् । न याजतेऽदीयमानं, न प्रत्याचष्टे । न खलु ओहमीदृशेन न सन्तुष्टः । His stomach might have been filled with plentiful and luxurious food when Charudatta was rich, but now it has been taught to eat whatever and whenever it comes by, does not hanker after food it cannot receive, and does not refuse food if and when offered. His similes are also entertaining here as when he compares himself to a bull yoked to a cart and brought to the market place slowly chewing the cud; again he compares himself to the pigeons easily satisfied with small quantities of food. He compares Charudatta to the waning moon fading away early in the morning. His conversation with Charudatta in the opening scene of the drama, gives us an inkling into the latter's reaction towards poverty. Monetary transactions walk out of my house, like cowherd boys frightened by

births were undergone by the participants. The
'Kāmapanatachetana' of Pundarikā was fully recognised.
Here again, it is interesting to note the way in
which the Dharmasāstras allowed the prāyascitta
to be performed by the father of Pundarikā,
Śvetaketu on his behalf inasmuch as the
- Pundarikā as he was now -
parrot Vaisāmpāyana, could not perform any
religious rite obviously. यत्तु यः एतं विदुः
विदुः. On the ethical plane, a system of the
ṛṇa traya - the three 'debts' by which man could
be chained to the society that brought him into
being, ^{was owed} and bound to liquidate these debts
fully before throwing off the 'shackles' of the
world and acquire the adhikāra to renounce
and think of the next world.

Now to come back to the topic of ṛṇa,
even Yājñavalkya did not refer exactly
to the word but asked the judge to take stock

mosquitoes. The sorrow over the loss of the money
feeds by what it grows upon like the reeds
of the 372 grass growing fertile in the 4th
season. When asked by the hero a little later to
offer worship at the streets-junction, the Vidūṣaka
at first refuses urging that his mind's reaction
is contrariwise to the usual mental reactions,
exactly as in a mirror which reveals the things
in the right side on the left and vice versa. When
Chārudatta persists that he should go, he consents
to do so if only the maid Radanika keeps him
company. He goes out with a lamp in his hand;
but the astute prostitute, exactly at the very
moment, finds the door open as it were for her
deliverance, puts out the lamp and walks into
the house, unnoticed by the Vidūṣaka. In the
meantime, Radanika who has stayed outside,
when the Vidūṣaka has gone in to relight the
lamp, has been severely manhandled by the
Sākṣarā under the impression that she is
Vasantasenā herself. The Vidūṣaka who

of the circumstances that drove the criminal on to his
 offence. Almost exactly similarly, Bhasa in his Chandra-
 -datta II, might not use the word but seems to be
 definitely approving of this very important humane
 aspect of our legislation. Usually Bhasa is very
 sparing in his descriptions and does not introduce
 tiresome *lokas* almost to boring us as in Bhalla
 Narayana or Jayadava's Prasanna-raghava. But
 in this theft episode, he starts with a big defence
 of theft in a significantly big *Sārdūlakṛidite*
 metre - कामं नीचमिदं वदन्तु विमुखाः सुप्रेतु यदुत्तमं

विश्वस्तु हि वञ्चनपरिभवः शौर्यं न कारकश्रुता।
 स्वाधीनत्ववन्नीयतापि तु वरं वर्येण सेवाश्रुतिः
 मार्गशौचं नरेन्द्र सोप्तिकवर्धे पूर्वं कृते शौचिना॥

We saw here that people might call this a nefarious
 profession, but ^{he} feels strongly he must protest against
 this particularly because of his motive; he protests
 even censure to servitude and such a path, he
 declares was first taught to the world by Kṛishṇa
 when he killed the Pandava sleeping babies. After
 such a glorious defence of his motive, he continues

now walks in with the lamp is startled to find
the Śākāra and the Vīta with a drawn sword.
The Vīta draws the Śākāra's attention to the
fact that the person who faces them is no other
than Chārudatta's companion and the woman whom
they have molested is not Vasantasenā as they
have wrongly imagined. He straightaway apolo-
gises to the Vidusaka addressing him ^{तत्रै-}
^{तत्रै-} flatteringly and hastens to explain that
they had molested thinking that she was the
prostitute Vasantasenā. The Vidusaka, fully
reassured, now threatens them saying that they
were doing an improper thing; the Vīta promptly
supplicates with folded hands. The Vidusaka accepts
the apology; the Vīta flatters Chārudatta by saying
that his generosity towards me and Sundry had
impoverished him. Requesting the Vidusaka not to
breathe a word about this affair to Chārudatta, he
quietly walks away. Finding himself alone, the
Śākāra pretends to threaten Chārudatta with

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that he would be very happy if he stumbled upon a
Shylockian merchant who had suddenly become
rich by harsh and exorbitant rates of interest
as a blackmarketer - तु अश्वत्थमानं साधुजनानामने
वाचिकं स्ववृत्तावतिकर्तारम् । यस्तस्य गेहं यदि नाम लभ्ये
भवामि दुःखोपहृती न चित्ते ॥ In other words, he curses
himself that his circumstances have driven him
to this crime and his motive is to find the money
by which he can buy the freedom of the slave-girl
Madanikā he loves. But unfortunately, though he has
entered the biggest possible house in the richest
Sreshti Chattrana or Merchants' Quarter, the
owner definitely appears to be completely im-
-riched now, नृणां विभक्तमब्दे । अपि जगद्भूमिपदेष्वपि ।
गृहं विक्रयकारेऽपि नीलं नो हेतु रक्षति ॥ Any other
man, in Chāndattā's circumstances, would have
been driven to sell away the house, but evidently
he had not done so out of his sincere affection
for the house he was born in. The thief makes a
thorough search, but finds only broken musical
instruments and is about to make his exit empty.

restituting Vasantasena at the earliest possible
moment and quickly walks away. The Vidusaka
now hastens to reassure the maid who was roughly
handled by the Sākara and requests her not to breathe
a word about the insult to Chandaṭṭa. They enter
and then only does Chandaṭṭa realise that the
person whom he has been thinking of as Radanikā
so long is the prostitute Vasantasenā. The Vidusaka
now refers him to Sākara's message about the 'res-
toration' of Vasantasenā. Mutually apologies are offered
by Vasantasena and Chandaṭṭa. Comparing them
to the two bullocks yoked to a cart disturbing each
other, the Vidusaka readily offers his apologies to
Radanikā. Vasantasena requests that she should
be escorted to her house by Chandaṭṭa. She entrusts
her ornaments into his safe custody in spite of
the protests of the Vidusaka that the house was not
a safe place. He has to receive them however in the
end, arranging that Radanikā and the Vidusaka
should alternately be entrusted with them for a
couple of nights at a stretch. When the hero
calls for a lamp to escort her, the Vidusaka

- handed, declaring he should not steal in the
 house of a man who is almost exactly in the
 same position in society as himself. Though he
 might have been once rich. Exactly at this
 moment, the Vidūṣaka begins talking in his
 dream - *सहृदो नरकवर्तमानम्*. The thief is terribly
 alarmed, but soon recovers his self-possession
 when he concludes that the man is talking only
 in his dream. The Vidūṣaka again continues in the
 dream - *मम वस्त्रं तेन शोषितं इति यदि न गृह्णाति, १*
 by my sacred Brahminism, if you do not accept,
 and seeing no other alternative, this Brahmin
 thief, perhaps ~~uttering~~ *within himself*, pretending
 as though leaving the Vidūṣaka muttering *सुखं मे*
संप्रददं न मम मम, I gift this to thee, this is not mine, is
 not mine, accepts the gift saying *न मे वस्त्रं गृह्णाति*
 exactly as any Brahmin would receive any alms
 and quietly departs with the box of jewels. And all
 along, while going, he mutters - *विप्रास्तु स्वस्त्युदारिद्र्यं*
आनिर्वृत्तं च यौवनं । यदि दं दफणं कर्म निन्दामि च करोमि च ।

again protest that there is no oil in the lamp like
a prostitute who is also devoid of another type
of lotus or the oil of affection. Fortunately the moon's
rise just then saves them the necessity of
lighting a lamp and the Vidusaka escorts her
to her abode, the act ending here.

The Vidusaka is not seen in the second act.
In the third, the hero and the Vidusaka return
rather late, after midnight, from a music concert.
The latter is terribly sleepy, cannot appreciate
any music and keeps company only because
of his devotion to his master. After washing their
feet, they enter the house and sleep. Just then the
maid Radanika brings the box of Vasantaseva's
jewels and thrusts it into the unwilling hands of
the Vidusaka who is feeling terribly sleepy. It is, accord-
ing to her, his turn to keep it in safe custody that
night since she had herself done so the previous
two nights. He accepts it with an imprecation on
his lips that the box might be stolen away so
that in future at least he might sleep without

"He upon my poverty (driving me to this) : so that my youth should not be wasted (and lead me to a quiet in consequence) I do this reprehensible deed, fully knowing that it is debasing". In other words, here, the thief dilates at length (Himāraka also does so on the need for being driven to this emergency even to the detriment of characterisation and dramatic effect. Though usually leaving many things unsaid for our inference, this almost lawyer like defence of the nefarious activity and mental cross-examination apart, he enters into Vasantasena's house, where his clever sweetheart extracts a confession from him that he has stolen the jewels from the house of somebody whom she at once ~~recognises~~ as Chāndatta. The sweetheart, in extreme anguish, asks whether anybody in that house has been wounded while he was in the act of stealing and the thief cries out - 'Is it not sufficient I have committed one crime, should I commit a train of such crimes? In this frame of mind, if he had the assurance that Chāndatta would not hand him over to the police,

any anxiety. Before they fall asleep, the hero and his friend talk for a short while, the latter criticising adversely the former's presentation of his guilt to the prostitute's attendant, the elephant-brother. The hero explains that it was due to his appreciation of the fallant rescue of an ascetic from the elephant's clutches. The Vidusaka feels worried that he should have been so appreciative even in such straitened circumstances. Both of them then sleep without

further comment and soon fall fast asleep. Meanwhile a thief bores a hole in the wall and enters the house, intent on stealing sufficient jewels for ransomning his sweetheart who is a maid in Vasantashuk's house. The house appears big as it belongs to Chandralekha in his days of affluence and the thief, evidently a stranger in Ujjayini, does not know that the owner has become impoverished now. The thief has perforce to come to the conclusion that the owner has become poor and would not sell the house because of his affection for his birthplace. When almost in despair, he is about to depart, the Vidusaka cries out in his dream to his companion Chandralekha - 'accept his box of jewels!'

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he would readily have reserved as much of the
jewels as would be sufficient to constitute his
sweetheart's ransom and restore the rest to the
owner. In one word, the thief's straightforward
motive of making the girl his legally wedded wife
makes him have an easy conscience; better to
follow a prohibited profession as a result of which I

can achieve my object rather than continue to
serve others. Bhasa should definitely have lived very
near to Kantilya and Asoka and never long after Jaynalkya
Bhasa's names. Manu II. 32 decrees that a

Brahmin's name should have इत्त at the end
of his name, a Kshatriya name should indicate
protection and should end in क्त, a Vaishya's name
should signify nourishment and the character
of the servant should be suggested by a Sūtra's

name - इत्तव इत्तव इत्तव साद्राज्ञो रक्षसमन्वितम्।
वेद्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं इत्तस्य प्रेषसंयुतम्॥ This was
also suggested in the earlier Vishnu Purana II.
10 when it said देवपूर्वं नरारम्भं इत्तवर्मादिसंयुतम्।

Terrribly startled, the thief is about to beat a hasty
retreat thinking the Vidusaka might be dissenting
sleep with the ultimate purpose of apprehending him.
But his measured breath soon reassures him. As
the Vidusaka once again requests that the box of
jewels be accepted ^{calling it} with an imprecation of it is not
accepted, the thief [^] quietly relieves him of his burden
to 'relieve him of his anxiety' and make him sleep
carefree like a merchant who has sold away his
merchandise. Early in the morning the maid realises
that the house has been bungled into. When the
news is brought to the hero and his friend, the latter
is happy that he has handed over his box of jewels
into Chandadatta's hand at midnight; but when
he realises that the person into whose hands he
had entrusted the jewels must have been the thief
himself, he repents. In the confused circumstances,
the Brāhmanī wife of Chandadatta decides to part
with her invaluable pearl necklace and gift it
away to the Vidusaka. The latter congratulates his
friend of his possession of an extremely devoted

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शर्मति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वसेति क्षत्रसंयुते । गुमदासात्मकं
नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥ Jivānanta W. 10395. But
comparing the names Bhāsa has used for his
Brahmins, the name Keshavadāsa for the Brahmin
in the Mādhyaṁāy. definitely disobeys this rule.
Other Brahmin names - also disobeying this rule -
are Ārya Jai vanti, in Pratipā II, Bālāki, Ādara-
yana, ^{in other dramas} and Jaladhina in Mādhyaṁāy. Bhāsa's
Chāridatta, a Brahmin with a Kshatriya's name,
marries Vasantasenā and is not ridiculed in
society for that act. So does his other character,
the thief, in the same drama; his caste may
not be clearly referred to in this drama, but in the
Mrcchakatika, ~~his~~ counterpart, Saurika is a
Brahmin as is clear from his yajñopavita or
sacred thread; in this drama also this यज्ञोपवीतं
during the daytime and कर्मशूत्रं during night
- दिने यज्ञोपवीतं रात्रौ कर्मशूत्रं seems to imply that
he must be a Brahmin. Kane definitely declares

wife and she here at once decides to send the same as recompense for the lost jewels of the prostitute, alleging that they were lost in gambling. Accordingly the Vidusaka is sent with the jewel to the prostitute.

We next see the Vidusaka in the prostitute's house. The latter has already understood that the box of her jewels has been stolen since she has overheard the talk between her maid and her sweetheart who is himself the thief. The Vidusaka enters wondering at the affluence of the prostitute's palace with artistic jewels being designed and various musicians playing on different kinds of musical instruments. He is welcomed in proper style; he prays he might not be treated to any delicious food, quite unlike the later Vidusakas and fortunately for him the cheti brings only water and proffers a seat. The Vidusaka starts asking for the price of the lost jewels and when questioned for the reason, he explains that the trust property - her jewels - was lost in gambling. Calmly she receives this

ब्रह्मो गयनमारोप्य ब्राह्मणे यत्प्रसंगमिति. The so-called
 'Kaliyuga' practices, do not seem to have been as
 yet crystallized in Bhāsa's time. From the Pratinidhi
 again, we understand that cows were being duly
 slaughtered for purposes of Śrāddha - ११३५ गौः
 श्रद्धौ च - १२९७ I act (When Ravana, in the guise
 of a Śrōtriya enumerates to Rama the animals
 prescribed for Śrāddha ritual). Cf. D.R. Panchadatta
 has shown that as a result of the influence of
 our early Smṛtikāras, this practice of killing
 cows for Śrāddha or any other religious ritual
 came to be abhorred by about the beginning
 of the Christian era which might also be
 regarded as synchronising with the beginning of
 the Kaliyuga. Similarly as a result of the influence
 of these Smṛtikāras, Brahmanas later had to speak
 only Sanskrit and women were to speak only
 Prākṛt in dramas. But in Bhāsa's dramas, the

news, but is rather unnerved by the costly necklace which was offered in lieu of the lost jewels. She cures herself that her lover has thought of her only as a prostitute and should be worried only about replacing the value of the lost jewels. She decides that her action will be misunderstood if she refuses and quietly accepts the same thinking that it would provide an opportunity for her to woo her 'dyūta kara' or gambling lover. The muddleheaded Vidusaka interprets her action as that of a typical prostitute and departs. The drama ends there.

In the two Udayana dramas also, we are introduced to similar devoted Vidusakas, or rather only one Vidusaka who becomes a bit older and is met with in the later drama. This friend, working under Yamaudha's instructions, is found in the beginning of the III act of the Pratignā. He is disguised as a dindika or a soothsayer. He has been along with Udayana in his prison in this guise; unsuspected by the enemy, he is a link between Yamaudha disguised as a lunatic and Udayana. His companion of the minister to 'phenāyamāna -

Brahmin Sūtradhāra in the 'bhāradatta or Indra in the
 guise of a Brahmin in the Karmadhāra speak Prakrit
 without exciting any adverse comment; on occasions
 of 'urgitam Karma' or exalted action, even a female
 like Bṛhannalā (Arjuna's disguise in Panchavāta)
 is particularly directed to avoid Prākṛit and speak
 Sanskrit only. This is exactly the case also in the
 introductory first ānanda or chapter in Pātanjali's
 Mahābhāṣya (which we believe refers to Bhāṣa's
 Bala-charita, calling it Kamsa-vadha) where the
 yavānastārvaṇāḥ s. sayat. speak Sanskrit only
 in 'yājña Karma' or ritualistic work and speak
 the ungrammatical illiterate dialect, the then
 extant Prākṛit on ordinary occasions to such an
 extent that they were even nicknamed that way.
 'Nawam Sārāvaṇa': Much has been made of
 the 2 stanzas quoted in Kaṭhilya's Arthasastra
 in E. 2. p. 365 - भानु यज्ञसंघे सत्यसाध विप्राः स्वर्ग-
 विषः वाज्रव्याघ्र यानि । क्षणेन तान व्याहृत्योनि उद्धृतः प्रणय
 सुयुक्तेषु परित्यजतः ॥ and नवं शरांश्च सन्निकस्य पूर्ण

malina Varṣa rathayodanam' - the foam on the rainwater gathered in the street gutter - is really entertaining.

His code language is understandable only to his two intimate companions. Yaugandha asks the Vidusaka whose name is Vasantaka whether he has been able to contact his master and the latter replies that he has done so soon after his master has had his ~~rit~~ bath. Yaugandha is pained as he understands from the Vidusaka's report that his master's ~~rit~~ or religious worship after bath which was usually done with great pomp and eclat in Kausambi, is now being with a single bow to the gods with chained legs. Then the clever minister unfolds his plans for the release of his master, the shrewd Vidusaka explains that his shameless master had converted the prison into a pleasure garden or pramadavana as he had already come under the spell of his ill-placed passion for Vasavadatta whom chance happened to push into his sight one evening on her way to the temple of a divine ~~rit~~. The Vidusaka further adds that in his bravado, the King mist his shamelessness into an earnest desire to be revenged upon his captor

सुसंस्कृतं दृष्टमकृतोत्तरीयं । तत्तस्य सा भूजहारकं कथं चो भर्तु-
 विदुसा कृते न युज्यते ॥ The latter sloka is put in the
 mouth of Gātrasevaka, the attendant of the ele-
 phant of Vāsanadatta in the Pratipāṭya, Bhāṣya
 IV. 2. and is preceded by the remark that his friends
 issue from all corners like ferocious black cobras
 and the verse itself forms an exhortation to these
 loyal servants of Yangandharāyana - May he,
 who does not fight in return for his master's food,
 (भर्तुविदुसः corresponding to master's salt in English -)
 not obtain the new vessel filled with water, sancti-
 fied and anointed with darbhadra, (welcoming
 a hero after his success on the battlefield) but gobobell.
 Later it turns out that this Gātrasevaka is really a
 spy of Yangandharāyana who purposely
 entered into Mahāseva's service in his Gajasthā
 with the express purpose of furthering Yangandha-
 rayana's plans. This sloka forms an exhortation to
 other spies to emulate Yangandharāyana's

by eloping with his daughter. To strengthen Gangadhar's
resolve, — if at all such external impulses were necessary —
the Viduseka pretends that they should leave their master
to his fate since the latter had not even the sense to
realise the difficult nature of their selfless devoted
service. This steels the minister's resolve and results
in the terrible vow — as historic as that of Bhishma in
the epic — that he would not deserve his name
if he would not effect the release of his master
along with his betrothed. Thus the Viduseka may
pretend to have his fondness for sweet partien-
tally as he enters the stage crying for his lost sweet
or moderate malakas and in the later drama, the
Swapna, he might exhibit his inordinate desire
for eating delicious food and make his incongruous
comparison of his पुष्टि परिवर्त or disorder in his
stomach with Rokila's अक्षि परिवर्त or eyeball
movements; but all this is only for some bit or
humour and he is ready to forget his hunger
and brave any danger, if necessary in the service
of his master. The act is appropriately called पुष्टि or
Secret-Counsel-act and every one of the sentences
has a separate suggestive meaning.

example, and die, if need be, to be true to the master's
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call. In the context in Kautilya's work, the King is
advised as to how to make his soldiers enthu-
-siasic at the beginning of a battle, by specifying
how the priests and astrologers should support
the King's speech by describing the fero of
heaven-awaiting the brave warrior and the
portunes of hell to be undergone necessarily by
the cowards running away from the battlefield.
The fact that the slokas might have been used
for a long time, for more than 10 centuries
prior even to make the soldiers enthused for
battle is clear from the fact that the first
sloka - not found in Bhasa - is almost the same
as used in a similar ^{shooting} context in Parāśarabrahmi
III. 37 where this sloka ^{appears as one} ~~forms the first~~ of the 8
or 9 slokas starting with the famous sloka -
द्वात्रिंशो युद्धो लोकं सुयमपुरुषभेदिनम् । परिव्राज्योगपुरुष

The Vidusake in the last Prapna Drama is the same Vasantaka of the Pratipnā; we may consider the two dramas in the same breath as one big Prakarna in 10 acts. He might have found a bit older and what is more important more skillful under the clever direction of the astute Prime Minister. As this minister handsomely acknowledges in I.15. the task of the persons entrusted with the protection of the person of his Majesty was really more taxing than that of others like himself for example. The discensolate prince might even put an end to his life by hanging or drowning himself and then all the 'labour of love' of Rumanvān and Vasantaka near about, and of Yaugandhe, directing them as a 'hidden hand' from far off Kausambi or elsewhere, would be all lost. A short digression here would not be out of place. The astute Minister is personally holding every chain or string from the very beginning, even of the Pratipnā. It is who has slowly persuaded Vasavadatte to lead an incognito life for her husband's ultimate welfare. Again, it is he who has instructed the Brahmachari to come at the end of I. act and apply a 'balm'.

रणे अभिमुर्यो हुतः ॥ That the ascetic and the soldier
 who die unflinching (without showing his back to the
 enemy) go right across into the Śiva's mandala. His
 reading of the first sloka is slightly different:
 यान्यजसंघैस्तपसा च विद्या स्वर्गैश्चिने वात्र यथैव विद्याः
 तथैव यान्येत हि तत्र वीराः प्राणान्स्तु युद्धेन परित्यजन्तः ॥ These

ideas, it is interesting to note, are common to Rigveda
 X-154-2-5, and also to some other Smṛtis like Dharmasūtra
 Sūtrakṛānti glorifies such a soldier by saying that
 he performs at once the duties of all the four āśrama.
 From this it is clear that they were streaming out of the
 mouths of the people in the course of the centuries from
 the Rigveda right down to the end of the Epic and
 the Purāṇic periods, if not later also, and both
 Kaṭiāhya and Bhāṣa might have quoted them
 without even referring to their authors since they
 were almost regarded as common property by
 almost everybody.

Contemporary Civil law : The civil law of the period, again,

as it were to the lacerated heart of Vasavadatta. On
an ultimate analysis, it will be clear to the readers
that every one of the 'hidden hands' manoeuvres
were directed to console Vasavadatta and strengthen
her at critical moments lest she might collapse
physically under the stress of too much emotion.
To give but an instance, the Brahmachari's narration
of the 'personal secretary' Rumanwan's refusal to
take food if the master did so, (I. 14) ^{anybody} can easily
realise, was meant really to assure Vasavadatta
that no effort had been or even would in future, be
spared by these secretaries like Rumanwan or Vasantaka
for the personal safety of the king. What a perfect
appraisal of the psychology of Vasavadatta and
careful application of the balm thereto in each
and every act that follows! 'This hidden hand'
confesses, at the very end to his master that
every one of these attendants like Rumanwan
and Vasantaka knew every bit of the plot and
deserved to be dubbed ३१०: 'or rogne. In one
word, the purpose of the creation of the Vidusaka
in these 2 dramas was to console and protect the
person of Udayana in them. He is ready to devote

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was under the humanising influence of the Thama
-śāstras such as would stimulate acquisition
and cooperative production and aid general and
all-round development by the removal of uncertainty
in regard to the transfer of property. Even the slave
was free to purchase his freedom out of his own self-
earning, if only such action did not compromise
with the loyalty to his master. - अन्तर्गतः स्वामी -
~~अन्तर्गतः स्वामी~~ as Kautilya Corp. III. 13 p 182. Sūyaleka
wants to buy Madanikā's freedom with his own
earnings. The solidarity of the family with the
absolute impartibility of the ancestral estate,
under a paterfamilias is described both by
Kautilya and Bhāṣa and the former goes to
the extent of declaring that the sons cannot
call for a partition of the ancestral property
as long as either of the parents is alive.
One can see that Bhāṣa also by implication
follows such a stand when he suggests that
the eagerness of the Pandavas to get their share

himself heart and soul in the service of his master; what is more pertinent to our purpose, he is a clever student of a cleverer master. If we flippantly say that the present alone counts with him, we are not giving him his due at all.

Just as the Vidusaka's presence was necessary only in the 3rd act of the Pratipnā, when he was in Jaggayini surrounded by enemies in a prison, in his later drama, his presence is necessary by the side of the King only as Vasavadatta cannot be near him. We discover him in the IV act; but as we have already remarked, he must have been taken into confidence by the clever minister and must have actively participated with him when this 'Cabinet Triumvirate' consisted of Yangandha, Pumanawan and Vasantaka. Must have decided that a change of climate in Darsaka's country might in the long run make Udayana forget the past at least to a certain extent. Slowly as they had foreseen, Darsaka began to see more and more of his new royal friend; his amiability and his past pathetic history became the general talk of the town and what is more important,

of the patrimony when both the parents - Dhṛta-
 nāstra and Yājñakāri were alive - or from yet
 another consideration, when Duryodhana, the
 eldest was alive - was unjust. Similarly when
 the virtues of Yudayana are being detailed
 by Mahāsena to his wife in II act of the Pratiyoga
 just before the IInd verse - विभ्रं भवत्येवं वृक्षेण
 उत्पन्नः पौरानुरागः - how the subjects are well
 contented under his benign rule - one is easily
 reminded of Kautilya's advice - प्रजापुरुषे
 सुखं शतः (I. 19). Kautilya does not as yet
 regard gambling and drink as vices, while
 Manu would even punish them (XI. 49 + XII
 56). The later Kāmanāka I. 56 - मृगया शिलाया
 धनं शङ्खानि महेष्टुनाम् - roundly condemns
 hunting, gambling and drink, while Bhāsa,
 under the influence of Kautilya, regards these
 as necessary evils, particularly useful as they
 valuable aids to the police and in replenishing the

Padmavati's admiration slowly ripened into love
under the unconscious nursing by the ineffectual
Vasavadatta herself. During the marriage
ceremony itself, the Vidusaka was supremely
happy - in ३१२ कुहोत दैवत of its ३१२२२२२
to use his ampase. Being ugly and portbellied,
he must have been made to eat overmuch
particularly because he ~~was~~ the bridegroom's
best friend. His famous joke about his 'kukzi
panivanta' due to indigestion like the cuckoo
bird's aksipanivanta' occurs here and unlike
the other Vidusakas he refuses any food.
After this Pravesaka, he emerges again into
our view in the company of his beloved master
who comes on the stage wondering how his
mind has managed to compromise with its
sincere love for the 'late' Vasavadatta and
switch itself anew to Padmavati now. The
Vidusaka naturally thinks of Padmavati with
whose help he hopes to refute Udayana's loss

state treasury. Kautilya would even provide for their control and regulation by the state; the master of the gaming den could exercise even magisterial powers, arrest the person who had lost his bet and run away unable to pay up his dues. He was entitled to 50% of the stakes and had to a licensing fee. Sūtra IV.4.43 prohibits

all drinking even ~~by~~ daytime. Yājñavalkya I.138 definitely calls ~~as~~ ^{or dice coins} 'dharmaghñas' or killers of dharma and prohibits this game altogether.

काटिल का उद्देश्य: Kautilya's aim was to reform the criminal by eliminating criminal tendencies in man. His ordinance evinces strict desire for justice between man + man. Punishment was educational discipline as in Aristotle.

The conclusion is inevitable that Bhāsa might have flourished soon after Kautilya and must have mastered the precepts of Kautilya before he wrote his dramas. The general atmosphere of Bhāsa's dramas is a faithful reproduction of the spirit of Manu's shloka in IV.140 - वेदोदितं स्वसंस्कारं निर्यं कुर्यादनादितः । तद्धि कुर्वन् यथाशक्ति प्राप्नोति परमां गतिम् ॥ A dedicated life they lived; they were godfearing and straightforward in all walks of life.

spirits. He tries to divert Udayana's attention by inviting him to look at a lovely row of cranes up in the sky; this also attracts the attention of Padmarati's maid who with the two queens is just near by. Padmarati decides into the ~~street~~ ^{the street} creeper bower so that they might escape the gaze of the male members (in deference to the sentiments of the senior queen). In the meanwhile, the Vidusaka and the King (who are within earshot of the Queens who advantageously see them, their presence however being unknown to the Mer group), start a conversation. The former is continuing his efforts to draw Udayana's mind away from his worries by inviting his attention to the multicoloured ~~flowers~~ ^{flowers} flower bunches and the latter rather absentmindedly agrees they are fine. In doing so he refers to his companion's name and this is enough to recall to Vasavadatta's mind her past life in ~~Ujjayini~~ ^{Ujjayini}. The King decides to wait for Padmarati there alone, but the Vidusaka proposes that they might enter the ~~street~~ ^{the street} bower. This would

pines, for about each other is not sacrificed, those who wear from terrible bodies, Agni shall blast them forth from this sacrifice! Here the con. explains $\overline{42} \overline{43} \overline{47}$: as $\overline{47} \overline{43} \overline{42}$: $\overline{5} \overline{42}$:

Chapter XII (b)

The 151st hymn of the R. Gveda is dedicated to Agni, an

the words स्वधा, पितृ, पितामह and पितामह occur
together in XIX. 3. 6. G. T. H. Griffith's translation

To grandfathers who claim Svadhā be Svadhā and homa

The fathers have eaten, the fathers have been satisfied: fathers! be ye purified!

Jazanya Bhutla is his person, who has studied
in a English medium, a person, who has studied

The Satapatha Brahmana there occurs

a passage in commentaries
देका अतिक्रामन्ति न पितरो मनुष्या ज्ञाने के अतिक्रामन्ति
मेवात्मबुधे मेवाति विद्वर्धति नृप

लक्षायां मनुष्याणां मया
-ज्ञानाय च न भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेदाति तस्माद्यु साय
-ज्ञानाय च न भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेदाति तस्माद्यु साय
-ज्ञानाय च न भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेदाति तस्माद्यु साय

प्रातराश्वेक स्नात्वा किंच वाचा व्याहरति तदुहं
सर्वं हवायुरेति यदुहं किंच वाचा व्याहरति तदुहं
तत्रैवमाद्यं गोपायति तद्धेतवे जो नाम व्याहार्यं वै गतस्थ

१०८५ प्रमुखा
Chapter also described.

कृतं शक्नोति परितुम् *Taittīyā Aranyaka* ^{II} Further down

be terribly embarrassing for the senior Queen, and the clever maid, at Padmavati's instance, disturbs the honeybees swarming round a flowering creeper nearby. This has the desired effect in keeping the male members exactly where they are and reassures the embarrassed females. What is more important, it enables Vasavadatta to console her mind by a near-enough view of Udayana's person. Unfortunately her tears betray her mental worry, but cleverly she tries to account for them by the flower dust that crept into her eye because of the swarm of the bees. In the meanwhile, the dramatist's psychological balm for Vasavadatta's bruised heart - the famous conversation of the King and the Vidusaka - proceeds being fully heard by the two Queens. The latter asks the King - whom do you like more, the Vasavadatta that is dead or Padmavati your present Queen? The King is in a terrible fix and more particularly the Senior Queen who is also nearby. The interrogator persists arguing that the senior Queen was dead and the junior one was not there, but the fact is both are listening. The King's hesitation and straight denial to answer are sufficient indications of the state of his mind to the Queens nearby, but the clumsiness

Panini in about the 7th cen. B.C. (II.3.12 - ^{१३१}श्राद्धं श्राद्धं and I.2.85
श्राद्धं श्राद्धं) definitely refers to performance of Śrāddhas
and in I.2.5 दद्यात् - दद्यात् refers to दद्यात् and
presupposes that they receive a share of the Śrāddha
or ancestral property and perform Śrāddha in
consideration of the same. Later still in the Hari
Vamśa I chapters 17 and 18 (which must even accord
ding to Dr. Winternitz soon after the last phase of the
Mahābhārata in about the 2nd cen. B.C. if not earlier), these
pits are spoken of as being 'āpyāyita' or strengthened
by the Śrāddhas and they, in their turn, make the
moon or Soma bigger and bigger - ^{१३२}अर्द्धरात्र्यादिनाः
येन पितरः सोममजमम् । आवापमाना मुष्माग्निर्वर्धयन्ति
नियता ॥ 37th Verse. Seven pitrganas - four of which
are having a concrete form and the rest three without
form - ^{१३३}चत्वारो भूतिमन्तश्च त्रयस्तेऽनामकस्तथाः are then
referred to. The story is then narrated of the मन्त्रिणी
first of the pits, Menā, marrying Himavān; next
follows the story of Satyawati, wife of Santanu as
having been born as a result of the curse of the
pits. The chapter ends with the exaltation of the
pits.

Kidusaka urges him to give a reply, saying he would even swear and bite his lip as though to say he would never tell anybody about the same. Even after this, the King is constrained to remark that he would never have the heart to make a clean breast of his mental feelings. This is sufficient indication of the bruised mind, but the Vidusaka, undaunted, wants a straight answer ^{allow him to} and there, saying he would not ^{be} ^{an} with from that spot, if he chose to remain silent. This is too much for the King who has to confess with deep pang that he might honour Padmaravi now for her amiable form, sweet temperament and virtues, but all the same, she could not attract his mind which was as yet bound with Vasavadatta alone. The senior Queen hears a sigh of relief, but Padmaravi's maid cries out vehemently - 'most unchivalrous!' Padmaravi however interprets this in the right spirit, remarking that her husband was sincerely cherishing his affection even so long after the death of the senior Queen. The latter naturally feels very much reassured and congratulates the young wife on her possession of a heart

uttra, like Vaidya's and Maharaja's (Hiranyaka) and
Abhyakāya.

Grādhe - पितृन् प्रीणाति यो भक्ष्यं। पितरः प्रीयमाने ततः।
यश्चानि पितरः पुष्टिं प्रजायन् विपुलास्तथा॥
and देवकार्यादि तु जे पितृकार्ये विशिष्यते।
देवतानां हि पितरः पूर्वमाद्यतनं स्मृतम्॥
शीघ्रप्रसादा इत्योद्यो लोकस्याप्यायनं परम्॥

This latter verse equals pitrkāya or Grādhe above
devakāya even because the pits are those through
whom the gods receive their food.

The Vishnu Purāṇa - which might chronologically
be regarded as the next stage from Dr. Winternitz's
standpoint (III - 13 and 14th adhyāyas) also deals with
this cult. The latter adhyāya contains a lovely story
which recommends the recitation of २००० मंत्राः
(or Raksasa-killing incantations) during the performance
of these rituals, and prescribes tīla āharana or the
spreading of the sesamum in the place where
such rituals are performed; if such rituals are
performed, the pits sleep happily during the entire
yuga - एतं तृप्तिमुपैत्य तेन युगं सहस्रं पितरः स्वयन्ते
and fulfil the desires of their loyal and grateful
descendants - येषां प्रयत्नमभिनोदितानि. The same
context 13. 38 - मृगाहनि च कर्तव्याः स्त्रीणाममुक्तराः क्रियाः
प्रतिसंवत्सरं राजन्। कोटिद्विष्टविधानतः॥

rid of all jealousy; on this side, the perverse Vidusaka is being himself plicd with an exactly similar question by the King about his liking the late Queen or the present one. The carefree Vidusaka tries to wriggle out in a Roperlike fashion by saying that he liked both, but the King would not let him off so lightly. He glorifies the Brahmin with flattering words into coaxing to reply. His clever reply is 'No doubt, the senior Queen liked me; but the younger Queen is youthful, lovely, sweettempered, modest, gentle in manners and talking pleasantly. More particularly she prepares sweet dishes and what is more waits for me'. Vasavadatta is rather offended at this low appraisal of herself and the King who is having his mental vision of his lost wife, cries out that he would report this verbatim to the Queen Vasavadatta. The Vidusaka brings him down to the mortal plane by reminding him that Vasavadatta was dead long ago. Realising this suddenly, the King muses 'yes! alas! Your joke distracted me into thinking about her and my voice, long used to her familiarly, has

seems to refer to the word (विहित) विहित for the first
time and the next adhyāya 2nd line - श्राद्धं श्राद्धं विहितः कुर्वत
नर्पयत्तारितं द्वित - says that it pleases the pitrs fully
and continues to mention that such Śrāddhas should
be performed on every Amāvāsyā and on holy days
like Aṣṭakās, Vyatipāka, Visuddha, lunar and solar
eclipses and also on Sankranti days - मासि मास्यासेते
पक्षे पक्षदश्यां नरेक्षर। तथा एकामृतं कुर्वत काम्यान् कालान्
श्राद्धं वसे ॥ The श्राद्धं श्राद्धं or श्राद्धं श्राद्धं or श्राद्धं श्राद्धं
with श्राद्ध and श्राद्ध is peculiarly pleasing to them XVI
adhyāya. The V.P. also refers to the eligibility of
the Brahmins to be fed during Śrāddha functions
- श्राद्धं श्राद्धं पवित्राणि देहिहिरः कुतपान्ति कः। II. 15. 50.
This idea about the ineligibility of certain Brahmins
is echoed by Yathisthira in his answer to the श्राद्ध-
प्रश्न - Vanaparva, 314th adhyāya - श्राद्धं कथं सृतेभ्यः
श्रोत्रियाभ्यः i.e. Śrotriya are to be invited; he
goes on to declare that the arrival of a Śrotriya is
the proper time for the performance of this ritual.
श्राद्धं श्राद्धं कालं वाह्यपाशमनः and the same
Yathisthira says to Arjuna in Ramayana chapter

spoken in the same old strain: Padmarati curses the
king Vidusaka for dragging the king down to the
ordinary plane too soon from his mental paradise
and Vasavadatta thinks her stars that she is being
praised even in her absence. Meanwhile, the king's
sorrow is overwhelming and the Vidusaka's efforts to
make him realise the inevitability of fate
are unavailing. The king silently repeats: 'You
cannot damage my feelings: long have I tried to
cast away my sorrow, but the sorrow is so firmly
deeprooted and every minute the sorrow appears
afresh; weeping out my tears makes my mind feel
a bit relieved and lightens the burden of my sorrow
slightly.' The Vidusaka now suddenly decides to bring
some water to wash the heart-drowned face of the king
and quietly goes out. Padmarati takes advantage of
the king's eyes being filled with tears to suddenly
rush out and is cured, but the considerate senior
queen, having also made her exit, directs the
junior queen to stay behind to wash the king's
face herself. So the Vidusaka and Padmarati
enter almost simultaneously from opposite

67 - धार्मिकाः पितृकर्मणि तीर्थगतां यजोपवीतां ॥ ५४ ॥
adepts perform the flesh of the Vaidhinaśa door
for the Śrāddha.

Perhaps the drama Pratimā represents
a stage almost coeval in the development of
the Śrāddha ritual. His other dramas like the Uru
change अ - किं स योग्यो न भोक्तुं सहृदय धृतराष्ट्रः पुत्र
निर्वाणः, or स्पृष्टुं यैव युधिष्ठिरस्य विपुलं क्षेमोपलब्धं
भुजं देयं पाण्डुसुतैस्त्वया मम समं नामाकलाने जलम् ५३,
or yet again after verse ५७, Asvaththāman declares
he was busy performing his Śrāddha to his father,
माये निर्वपनव्यये वस्तिः खलु कुरुराजः. In the Dūtashat
10, Dhritarāstra prepares to perform pītṛtarpana for
his dead sons, - अथैव तास्मामि जलं हतेभ्यः. So from
these references, we can easily guess that nirva-
-pana or pītṛjala with the यजोपवीत or sacred
thread held in the उपसंव or reverse of the
usual fashion, was already an established
custom. But we get more fruitful informa-
-tion from the Madhyamaṅgī and more particularly
from the Pratimā. The former has a beautiful

sides and the former announces to the King that Padmaravi
has now come. The latter wants to know what the matter
is and here again, we have another classic reply of
the Vidusaka which has deservedly become famous
- 'This - is that, - that - is - this'. Padmaravi urges him for a
reply and the Vidusaka who has collected his thoughts
by now, is ready with an evasive reply - 'Some Kāśā
flower-dust, brought on by a passing wind, settled
in his Majesty's eye and so the eyes are filled with
tears. May your ladyship accept this water and wash
the face'. Padmaravi wonders in her mind at the way
in which the King's chivalrous nature has been assimi-
lated by the Vidusaka also; she quietly approaches
the King, greets him and offers to wash his face. The
embarrassed King suddenly realises that Padmaravi
has presented herself and realises he must dissemble
somehow. He greets her in return, but wants to be
instructed by the Vidusaka as to how or why it was
that she had come. The latter quickly whispers to

I 7 our note to following page: Asoka in his Edicts about
a hundred years prior had emphasised this dutiful-
ness towards parents and elders.

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since though in a completely different context —
माता किरु मनुष्याणां देवतं परमं मतं । मातुराज्ञां पुरस्कृत्य नयमेतरेणां
मताः ॥ 37 ॥ Verse; Duryodhana's reverence to his mother
is not less sincere - अन्यस्यासपि मे जात्यां त्वमेव जननी
भव - ऊरुभङ्गः 50. This idea is excellently explained in
Mamre II. 227 - यं मातापितरौ कुरुं सहेते संभवे नृणां । नतस्य
निष्कृतिः शुभ्या कर्तुं वर्ष इतैरापि ॥ In other words, the genesis
of the Śrāddha cult which is nothing but the expression
of gratefulness on the part of the sons towards the
dead ancestors who have sacrificed their all for the
sake of those through whom they think their name
will be perpetuated. The mother in the beginning
(cf the Taittiriyaopaniṣad advice मातृदेवो भव) and
later the father also became the concrete expression
of divinity for their sons and Bhāṣa went a step
further in his Pratikāṇḍ V. 10 - तैः सपिताः सुतफलं पितरौ
कर्मणे हित्वा जरां समुपयान्ति हि दीपयन्तः । कुम्यं पुरैः
समुपयान्ति विमानवासमावर्तिभिश्च विकर्षेन वलाङ्घ्रियन्ते ॥
When he associated सुतफलकलैः or the possession
of good sons with this growing cult. The future
prosperity of the family was directly linked to devotion
to devotion towards the dead ancestors who were exalted

him that he has told her that the tears in his eyes were caused by flower dust. The happy King accepts the water with an eased conscience, sips it ceremoniously and directs her to be seated. He repeats the same explanation about his eyes being filled with flower dust and mentally heaves a sigh of relief that the touchy newly married girl might have been worried if she had known the truth. The Vidusaka's reminding the King about his being required to attend a garden party in his honour arranged by the Magadha King, his new brother-in-law affords a convenient excuse for the King to tear himself away from the scene.

The next scene in which the Vidusaka figures himself is the famous dream scene after which the drama itself has been named. News is brought to the Vidusaka that Padmavati is suffering from a serious headache. He is also informed that it has been arranged to make her sleep in the Samudra. Jyoti's palace which has been furnished with medicine just then for the purpose. The act proper opens with the King who has just been informed by the Vidusaka

as सुविमुक्तिं दासिनाः. Sumanta, an early Dharmacharya
had declared सर्वान्तरात् नाना-सुखं सुखात्. The
पितृगीता in U.P. added its arguments in favour saying
if the sons perform Śrāddha in full faith, the pits
'sleep' without any anxiety for a millennium - पुण्यं सृष्टं
पितरः स्वर्गं (18) and नृणां प्रवर्तनमभिव्यक्तिरिति. Bhāṣa
in the context makes Ravana declare सर्वं श्रद्धया दत्तं
श्राद्धम् । अनादरतः परित्यक्तं भवति and Manu almost
comments on this when he said कार्यं श्रद्धया दत्तं
अक्षयकामकल्पे III. 202. Bhāṣa's emphasis on Śrāddha
indirectly by making his Ravana an adept in Śrāddha
ritual of the time - whatever it be - is echoed by
Yuthisthira in the Yajñsa Brāhma already referred
to and also in Rāmāya I. 15- यथा हि योऽपि श्रद्धां
न सतां भोक्तुं महीति. If Yuthisthira in the Rāmāya
chapter 69 declared याज्ञिकः पितृकर्मणे वार्षाणसं यजेत.
युञ्जति or Bhisma in Amṛtasāhita 135-9 - वार्षाणसस्य
मासेन वृष्टिं दत्तं श्राद्धिकी, Bhāṣa seems to refer to a
similar Śrāddha ritual since he also recommends
the use of विरूढेषु कर्माः, ओषधीषु तिलाः, कर्मसंशोकेषु,
मत्स्येषु महाशकरः, पशुषु वार्षाणसः, पशुषु गोः खड्गो वा,
as being prescribed for Śrāddhas among men.

about this latest mishap to his new wife with whose help he is trying to forget his sorrows for his first wife. So much of fuss was being made about her headache that Padmaravat felt ashamed and decided to give a slip for everybody, by not proceeding to the Samudragraha at all. What a delightful though unintended joke!

Just as the Vidusaka was requested to inform the King about this mishap, information was also conveyed to the Senior Queen so that she might be by her side to relieve the tedium by narrating a few stories. So both parties, the King and the Vidusaka, from one side, and Vasavatt from another, wended their steps to the Samudragraha palace, the latter only about a quarter of an hour later. As chance would have it, Udayana reached the place earlier in his anxiety to be by his wife's bedside. On the way, the Vidusaka mistakes a long flower Garland for a snake in the dim light of the dusk. The King dispels his fears and they enter only to find the bed empty. The King decides to sit on the bed and wait, but the cool breeze of the evening makes him feel drowsy. To keep off his sleep, he asks the Vidusaka to narrate

(Continued 2 pages after)

Manu III 271 repeats Bhishma's वीर्योणस एव मासेत इति.
शुद्धशक्ति and Bhasa's वीर्योणस might be identical
with the epic वीर्योणस (though the commentators try to refer
it to an elephant or rhinoceros and Bhasa expressly calls
it a bird). Bhasa might not directly refer to other
ideas regarding Śrāddha, but he seems to suggest
the Sapindi-Karana by implication when he refers to
the installation of the 'chaturdaivata' - or four statues
of 'gods' - as Bharata misunderstood them in the
Pratimāgṛha. They are really pratimās or statues
of the immediate four ancestors of Bharata and
the implication seems to be that the 4th statue
of the remote पञ्चाशत्तमः Ditya would be removed
to the bigger room in the museum - or whatever
it might have been called then - after Bharata
would finish the Śrāddha and had assigned
his father also a place among the pits. The
actual word पञ्चाशत्तमः used in V.P. III.13.38 or
the Sapindi-Karana by Manu III.247 might not
be found here, but the context makes this clear.
Rama refers to the deity of his pits - पितृदेवता

Footnote to preceding page: - Virādha, the Rākṣasa killed by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in Aranyakāṇḍa IV, is pushed into a deep 3502 and stones and mud are used in filling up the pit. The Rākṣasa explains that this custom is in vogue among them particularly because they possess massive bodies.

रवत्, येन केन (Pratima ५. 5) with the fruits of press on the
doubtless - कलानि दृष्टुं दक्षिणं and Sita remarks
that Bharata would perform the ritual in all
pomp and glory - श्रुतः निर्वर्तयिष्यति शत्रुं शत्रुं.

These Pratimas are also important in
another way. worship of the dead heroes by
installing their statues in public places was
a noteworthy feature. Over and above the cremation
and burial of the dead, this idea of installing
monuments in memory of the dead is similar
to the ^{wrapped mummies in the} pyramids of Ancient Egypt, but this method
seems to have been shortlived; but it is interesting
to record here that Sr Coomaraswamy in his
Indian and Indonesian Art mentions on p 185 that
his Pratimācult travelled beyond the seas to
Cambodia where the deification of the royal
ancestors survives in the Renaiwos group near
Angkor.

To continue our topic about the Śrāddhas,
it seems proper and even pertinent for us to
link his idea of Śrāddha with the Visions
seen by Bhāra's dying heroes slightly prior to

a story and the latter agrees if only the King consented
to respond with a 'hum' after every sentence. The King
agrees and the narration starts with reference to a
story relating to Yaffayini and its famous swimming
pools. Vidayana's thoughts fly back to his happy days
culminating in his elopement with Vasavadatta; the
narrator feels the story is being disliked but Vidayana
explains that his thoughts have flown back to his
furore of Vasavadatta who affectionately allowed
her tears to fall upon his breast and absentmindedly
played the bow of her fiddle in the vacant sky
all the while being absorbed in gazing at his face.
This has already called up to his subconscious mind
the memory of his former wife, but the Vidusaka feels
he must now change the story and starts another
with the classic inversion of the names of the
King and the city as Brahmavadatta city and Lampitika
King. Even though asked by the King to mention the
names over again correctly, the clumsy fellow repeats
the mistake and the King corrects him. To get at the
names correctly, the Vidusaka repeats them over and
over again exactly as a young boy in an elementary
school might do. This is too much for the King who

was already feeling drowsy. The cool evening breeze has only increased his drowsing tendencies and the soft warm bed induces sleep sooner than expected. The Vidushaka feels rather confounded when he finds his Companion fast asleep. Since the place is rather chill, he suddenly decides to go out and bring his quilt to cover himself with. At this psychological moment, in the very faint and failing light of the evening dusk, with but a small naked lamp in a rather distant corner of the room, the King is sleeping all alone on a specially prepared bed. It is no wonder that Vasavadatta who enters just then mistakes the sleeping person to be Padmavati herself and curses the attendants for having left her all alone. She sits by the side, feels electrified, is happy to note the measured breathing undisturbedly, is happy to note the disappearance of the headache; unable to resist the impulse to sleep in the cool breeze, she also lies down. She has the shock of her life when the King cries out to her in his dream 'Oh Vasavadatta!' Realising suddenly that it is her husband, she curses herself for having allowed herself to be seen by her husband in spite of the P.M.'s instructions. She

were connected now with Vāsu, Rudra, and Agni in
III. 284 - वसुन्वदानीतु पितृन् ठद्रांश्चैव पितृमहान् । जपितामृतं
-सथादित्यान् भुतिरेषा मनातनी ॥ and Manu seems to
have been responsible for the distinction between
हव्य and कव्य - the former being an offering to the
gods with स्वाहा while the latter is a पिण्ड or a ball of
rice or water offered to the पितृ being called स्वादा.
Manu particularly directs that the offering to पितृ
should be hot, should be eaten by the guests in
silence and should in no way be condemned while
being eaten II. 237. It should not be polluted by
the Rākṣasas in any way. Manu wants स्वादा
(ie. Veda), धर्मशास्त्र, आरव्यान्, इतिहासः, पुराणः, and
खिल (= हविर्विश्व) to be read out during the Śrāddha
period. One is reminded of such recitals just
before and after Prabhakaravardhana's death in the
Harṣacharita. I recollect though this was far later
than the period being referred to in our context.
Manu also insists that the Śrōtriya invited
for meals during Śrāddha should be orthodox

King's apostrophising again 'Oh! Avantīrājaputri!' is rather reassuring as it indicates that he is only dreaming and emboldens her to remain and satisfy her sight and heart. The King continues 'Oh sweet-heart! Oh! dear disciple! do give me but one reply! This persistence of the dream emboldens her impulse to answer 'My lord! I am speaking'. The dreaming King catches the answer, and replies 'Art thou then angry with me?' The stress of the emotion urges her to reply 'never! never! rather I am grieved!' The dreaming mind catches up this reply also and asks her 'Why no decorations then?' The worried lady musters up courage to say - 'Why more than these?' The King's mind misunderstands that she is cherishing the old Vriachikā fudge, and the lady, who had even forgotten the escapade of long ago by his exceedingly sincere and passionate affection ever afterwards, cries out in anguish, 'Whoever thought of Vriachikā even now?' The King, even then in his dream, feels he must apologise for his long forgotten escapade and stretches out both his hands for the purpose. Vasavadatta realises she has overstayed, but she cannot resist the temptation to put the hands of

and well read - पित्र्ये कर्मणि प्राप्ते तु परीक्षेत प्रकृतम्. 173
 149 (cf Bhishma's advice in Anusasana 137 अनृत
 शब्दे) and referred to some undeserving
 Brahmins for both havyas and Kavyas - तीन
 हव्यकवयोर्विप्राननहूमनुरक्षीत. III. 150. As already
 stated, Manu III. 225 - दौहित्रः कुतपलिलाः being Kavy
 efficacious for पित्र्यं कर्म is an echo of V.P. which
 also says त्रीणि शब्दे पितृणि दौहित्रः कुतपलिलाः
 III. 15.50 which again is repeated many times in
 the Bharata epic. Yājñavalkya soon after in I. 168
 सार्व वसुरुद्रादिति मुक्तः पितरः शब्दे देवताः । प्रीणयानि
 मनुष्याणां पितृन् शब्देन तर्कितः ॥ आयुः प्रजा धनं विद्यां
 स्वर्गं मोक्षं सुखानि च । प्रयच्छन्ति तथा राज्यं प्रीतानृणां
 पितामहाः ॥

In the context in Bhasa, Rama is eager to
 perform the ^{सांस्कृतिक} Graddha with flesh but is at a loss to
 know which deer's flesh will be most propitiating
 to them (perhaps from the Dharmashastra standpoint)
 and Ravana pretends that he is an excellent
 Srotiya well posted with the latest Graddha Kalka
 and recommends काञ्चन वाश्वमुगमांस. Before

her fond husband back inside the quilt so that they might not feel the chill breeze. She does so and makes out, but the last touch has completely roused him up. He realises he has seen Vasavadatta, and pursues her; the sight of her back, gait and posture have confirmed his suspicion that it is really his lost queen, but the pursuit is out of question since the doorpane above has struck Udayana's head. The lady manages to make good her escape in the darkness. The Vidusaka, who enters just then, feels he has been away rather too long since the king is on his legs, fully awake. The latter, completely under the spell of his last touch of her hands, informs him that Vasavadatta is definitely alive and that Purmanan should have only deceived him. The perplexed Vidusaka cries out 'Impossible! Oh! my reference to Uffayini's swimming pots must have called her up in your subconscious brain and you must have only dreamed of her.' The disconsolate king refuses to believe and the Vidusaka pushes out the faint suspicion by asserting that he must have seen a Yakshini named Avantisundari. The king avers that he has had a second glimpse of her face with her dishevelled locks and eyes divested of

the advent of the Kaliyuga (which we believe¹⁷⁴ was almost synchronous with the advent of the Christian Era) even Brahmans were eating flesh (cf a Brahmin atithi being called गोहृत् or Cowkiller and Bharatmuni telling us that Vasistha was welcomed with such a cow's flesh in Valmiki's as'rama) and परमपैतृक or श्रीष्ट with flesh was the usual rule. Bharata's epic Anusāsa 134 - ~~शक्यमदामि चेण कुर्वन्त प्रयतः प्राञ्जलिः शुचिः~~ and Manu declares - विना मांसेन यश्चाद्यं कृतमप्यकृतं भवेत् । क्रव्यादाः पितरो यस्मादभवे पायसाद्ययः । मुन्यन्तानि ययो मांसं सोमो यच्चानुपसंस्कृतम् । अक्षारलवणं चैव प्रकृत्य हविरुच्यते ॥ and Hemādri commenting on this says: तदामिषेण कर्तव्यं प्रशस्तेन प्रयत्नतः । अयं च मुख्यकल्पः, तदभवे दधि घृत रूपादि विधायिष्यते । A' Nairgama' quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu says: त्रिः पितृनिवेदियक्षीणं श्वेतं वृक्षजापतिम् । वार्ध्रीणि सं तु तं प्राहुर्यज्ञिकाः श्रद्धाकर्मणि । Even now in Bengal the mixing of cake, roasted with flesh is the custom as they stick on to the सामीप्य कर्म which is completely forbidden in the South by Parāśara and other Smṛtikāras. The Bhāgavata Purana actually prohibits this saying न दद्यादामिषं श्रोत्रं - यश्च न पशुहंसया; darbhā

collyrium and points out to the horripilation on his hands as a result of her grasping his hands. The Vidusaka breaks the spell by asking him not to brood overmuch on this meaningless phantasm. A messenger also enters to announce that Rumanasan in collaboration with King Darsaka's forces has been able to contact the enemy armies after crossing the river Ganga and has been waiting for his Majesty's arrival for the crushing final onslaught. Udayana accidentally departs and the scene ends as abruptly as it has begun.

To conclude, Bharata Vidusakas have a freshness and a vivacious originality about them, which is definitely lacking in his later conventional counterparts. His Vidusakas have more affinities with the earliest creations of his class, as for example, those in ~~Pravahosa~~ Kalidasa and Sudraka and to a certain extent with the lost dramas of Pravahosa wherein the published fragments even provide us with an almost vigorous

tila and other substitutes are prescribed instead. ¹⁷⁵ Devale
prescribes honey - यज्ञादं मधुना हितं नद्रसैः समहैरपि,
मिष्टान्नैरपि युक्तं च पितृणां नैव हृष्यते ॥

The Epics also speak of this cult in almost
exactly the same elementary fashion as Bhasa does.
Bharata soon after his return from his grandfather's
country performs this pitr-karya. The body of the
dead king is taken out of the big oil vessel in
which it was kept so that it might not get
decomposed; fragrant Chandana, agar, Sarala,
Padmaka and Devadānu logs of wood are used in
preparing a big chitā or funeral pyre. Scented
incense are thrown and the dead body is placed
thereon by the priests headed by Vasistha as the
76th chapter of the Ayodhyā Kanda (Kumbhakrona)
relates. Sāma hymns are sung by the priests
as the dead body is being carried, followed by
the widowed queens and Bharata. The body
is consigned to the flames and the queens
along with Bharata perform water libations

and faithful boon companion, who lives entirely
for his master. His speaking Prākṛit is also satis-
factorily explained as in these early days - Patanjali's
Contemporary as he was - Brahmins spoke Sanskrit
only for Yajna, or sacrificial Karmas, as Patanjali
mentions in the Pārasaśa Ahnikā. Pṛhasa's Indra
disguised as a Brahmin, speaks Prākṛit only.
"The name Viddisaka is just a hyper-Sanskritic
backformation of Prākṛit Vinsao or Vinsaa (with ~~tr~~ ending)
which is to be connected with vidvas (cf. words like
अज्ञता, दौर्गहिक, मद्धिदहिक, मर्ष or मर्षित definitely
possess a Prākṛit base; अम is a देही word of Tamil
origin) There could be no better proof of his being
a popular creation than the Prākṛitic basis of
his name, and it is in the fitness of things that he
speaks in Prākṛit." Dr A. N. Upadhye in his introduction
to Chandralekha A Prākṛit Sattaka of अज्ञता (circa 6/6
AD)

on the 13th or 15th day of the same, while others say 14th or 15th.
that it should be done on the 30th 5th or 7th day from cremation.
The Taittiriya has a custom by which it was done by the chief wife
of the dead.

and spend the 10 days in extreme sorrow. The next
 canto speaks of the way in which the Srāddha is
performed on the 12th day and various presents are
made to the Brahmins. On the 13th day alone, the
bones, ashes and other mortal remains are
collected by the principal Karta, Bharata. (But now
it is done on the 2nd day and the succeeding days
in some parts and on the 3rd day in other parts and
after some time, it is consigned to the Triveni
sangama or Setu or some other holy kirtha).
Bharata has to do so in silence - इति विहितं
कथं च शोधनार्थमुपागतः Verse 5-77th Chapter.
शोधनार्थं is explained as आर्यसंनयना रथे in
the commentary. On his way to Chitrakūta,
Bharata performs Srāddhas as often as he
comes across a river as the rule was एतद्वाक्यं
संपत्तौ तत्र दूस्वप्नदर्शने । जन्मक्षे मृदुपीडासु च
कुर्वीत नैवेद्यम्. And later in the 102nd chapter,
Bharata informs Rama that their father is
dead. Lakshmana is directed by Rama to get
the इक्षुदीपिका or the cake prepared from इक्षुदी

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(Terminalia latappa) from their kitchen - आजयेदुकी-
 पिण्याकं चीरमाहुर चोत्तमं । जरुकि यार्थं तातस्य जमिष्यामि
 महात्मनः ॥ Sita goes in front, Lakshmana follows her,
 Rama comes up last and with Sumantra, they descend
 into the waters of the Mandakini river. Facing south,
 they offer the tarpana : ऐदुदं वदसीमिधं पिण्याकंदुधं
 संक्षरे । न्यस्य रामः मुहुः खार्त्तं रुदन्त न तव्रकीत् ॥ इदुदी-
 वदरेः विल्वैः रामस्तर्पयते पितृन् । इदं भुक्ष्य महाराज
 प्रीतो यदशना वयम् ॥ यदन्तः पुरुषो भवति तदन्तास्तस्य
 देवताः ॥ This इदुदी पिण्याक placed by Rama for his
 father is to be seen by Kausalyā and other widows
 queens. Evidently this inferior oil cake is the food-
 eaten by Rama in the forests and Dasaratha as
 per the Vedic injunction - यदन्तः पुरुषो भवति तदन्ताः
 तस्य देवताः has got to be satisfied therewith. This
 is clear proof to show that Śrāddhas could be
 performed even unexpectedly if a Śrōtriya happened as
 is remembered for example in the Mārkaṇḍeya Upani-
 31. अध्याया - यदा यः श्रोत्रियो भवेति गृहं वेदविदग्नि-
 तित । आकाई द्रव्यसंपत्तौ तस्य पुस्तक प्रदर्शने । तस्मिन्
 गृहपीडासु आत्मे कुर्वति उपायम् ॥ The point to be noted

here is that women were also performing ¹⁷⁸shrādhā to the
departed pitrs and pīṅgākas or cakes prepared from the
food of the principal Karta in Rama's case
implies that in Bharata's case it would be costly
food exactly as Sītā consoles Rama in Pratiṃā
निर्वर्तयिष्यति भरतः शृणु मे धर्मो, अवलोक्य नृपं आर्य-
पुत्रः. This implies that rice pīṅgā were not used as
nowadays. In the Bhārata epic also we read सर्व-
कामैः स यजते यस्मिन् सैव सपते पितृन् and also श्रौत
आद्ये पवित्राणि etc Ānandāśa - 238th chapter exactly
as in V. P, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Manu. The epic
has another lovely story (Ādi Pāra 13th chapter
Kumbhak Edn) about Janak Kār's pitrs hanging
over a deep chasm almost about to die, the roots
they are clinging to being gnawed at by rats, being
persuaded to marry. This also mentions (134th
chapter Ānandāśan. Pāra) for Śrāddha performance
on various tithis. The same epic after the
death of the respective heroes in the great
war refers in the Stri Pāra chapter 26 to the fact
Vidura and Guṇvatsa were directed by Yudhiṣṭhira

to perform Brāhma rituals to all the departed; they performed it exactly like Bharata who carried Dasaratha's body to the flames after preparing a funeral pyre with fragrant logs of wood. After the bodies were burnt, Dharmarāstra and others - men and women together performed water libations to the dead; Kunti instructed Yudhishtira to do the ritual for his elder brother Karna (chapter 27) and receives his abuse for having withheld the information so long from him. The Lakṣmaṇa Purāṇa chapters 218 to 220 also deals with this cult and these ^{chapters} are read usually in houses where death has taken place.

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Jivānanda-Bel Eds) chapters 29 to 33 deal with this cult (as also in the 96th chapter to be referred to later). This context - 30th chapter 22nd verse is interesting to note, allows women to perform the obsequies if no male member offers to do the same. सर्वभावं स्त्रियः कुरु स्वर्गार्जुणमंत्रकम्. This last bit अमंत्रकं for a step further than Bharata who prohibits only Śūdras or

Vrāṇas and not women from using मंत्र - ¹⁸⁰दीर्घतरु
प्रणमः स्यादमंत्रार्चितदेवतः - Pratima III. 5. The 96th Chap
has another lovely story (similar to Jaratkāri)
in which the pitrs of Ruchi, finding him not worshipping
any pitrs, not keeping a home, taking only one meal
and shunning all company, deliver a sermon to him
on the three debts to the gods, pitrs, and mannyas,
from which he should be exempted before he could
get the अधिकार for fixing his mind on mokṣa. They
say अनुयाय सुतान् देवातसंतर्प्य पितृन्तरु, अकृतार्च
सुतं मीढ्यात् सुगतिं गन्तुमिच्छति " and add that his
path will be beset with many difficulties and after
death hell will be his lot. But Ruchi in the beginning
refuses to be entangled into the chains of Samsāra
and prefers to wash away his sins in the water of
virtuous inclinations or Sadvāsanās. But later
their advice has an effect; they advise him to
marry, redeem himself and them also thereby and
vanish. Ruchi performs penance, propitiates
Brahma, and is blessed into becoming a Prajāpati
himself. Even Brahma in the context, glorifies
the pitrs as conferring all prosperity upon their

best friend. Younganda quietly comments that he
maker for was from also. Padmanabha, who is over-

endowed with joy, makes himself active ^{her} as usual.

date. The latter affectionately raised up. The latter

also an explanation for his having concealed Vajra-

date. The latter explains that he wanted to see his

master's kingdom restored to him. Why was then the

master to Padmanabha? is Vajra's next question.

the minister explains that the answer is Padmanabha.

the minister explains that he predicted her as the future

queen of Vajra. The king wants to know whether

Padmanabha had known this and the minister answers

all had known it and suggests that he enquire

from Vajra. Should not he enquire from the king?

their place, but Vajra and Padmanabha also could

and save all of them with Padmanabha also could

go and pay their respect to their affectionate

parents-in-law. Younganda now promises

the Brahatavikya that their big feast will

should make the earth fertile by the ocean, with

Humayun and Vinayaka as the two earrings.

The drama ends here.

Ve-Bhiksha

The last two chapters in the story

END.

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descendants. - तं ताव तु ह्यः पितरः प्रकाशयन्ति तवेत्येतात् ।
 पत्नीं सुतां च सुसंतुष्टाः किं न दद्युः पितामहाः ॥ १६. १०. There
 is a रुचिगीता extolling the piths (almost exactly as in
 the पितृगीता referred to before) as being worshipped in all
 the three worlds, by the people of the four castes, by gods in
 heaven, by demons, snakes and the rest of them. In the
 33rd verse they are glorified as being pleased with विडु,
 deer's flesh (cf Phasa) with black sesamum, and also with
 a vegetable called काल (~~in this the~~ same as Phasa's कलाम्?).
 ये खट्विमांसं न सुरैरभीष्टैः कृणोस्ते ते दिव्यमनोहरे ॥
 कालेन शाकेन महर्षिर्वयैः संप्रीणितास्ते मुदमत्र यान्तु ॥
 Here also their propitiation on holy ashtaka days
 etc as in V. P. is recommended. These possess
 the white colour of the Brahmin, the crimson colour
 of the Kshatriya, the golden colour of the Vaishya and
 the dark colour of the Sudra. It concludes: रश्मिं
 भूतान्यसुरांस्तथोग्रान्निर्नारायणस्त्वनिशं प्रजानात् ।
 आद्याः सुराणाममरे वा पूज्याः तृप्यन्तु ते ऽस्मिन् प्रणतेस्मि
 तेभ्यः ॥ They are spoken of as constituting nine
 different ganas or groups, four of which are
 अग्निष्वात्ताः, वाह्यवदः, आज्यपाः and सोमपाः, assigned
 respectively to the four quarters east, South, West

89. signifies acceptance, Padmanavah and Bhavabhuti with
a veiled face - enter. The former is explaining the
letter that her elder sister is gone and the latter remarks
she has been 'luckily remembered'. Padmanavah notices
the king and says that the king's property has been
lost. The king explains that the king's property is
to be returned in the proper legal manner in the
presence of accredited representatives and appoints
the two brothers from Varanasi as a special agent
for the matter. Padmanavah now offers the woman
for inspection before the special inspectors and they
at once accede to Padmanavah, but the king
attempts to enter with Padmanavah, but the king
of the Bhavabhuti has done King's duty.
The king asks the veil on Bhavabhuti's face to
be removed and both Bhavabhuti and Padmanavah
Padmanavah himself tells his joy and this out
cannot contain himself with his joy and this out
- a refusal: is it a dream or a reality? He did
once believe me! He answered the king's question
youngster and confabulate him saying you
efforts, making false illusions, war, and making
have saved us from the man who was long

and north. These pits appear before him and he again
praises them as अक्षय्यस्य सदा दानुज. Accordingly
they bless that Ruchi will have his desire of becoming
a Prajāpati fulfilled by becoming the father of Manu
inaugurating the Rāchya manvantara.

To conclude, Bhāsa's Śāddha Kalpa seems
to be almost exactly similar to that of the epics.

H.V. and V.P. and seems to be definitely prior to Manu and
even his Śāddha is perfected in the same way; in the R. Kalpa, the pits are not of the first rank.
other later authorities. 97 Bhāsa refers to the

gratefulness of a good son in performing the
Śāddha for his father, he is but echoing the gāthās
by Rāma in Ayodhya 107. 108 seq - अरुणामोचय राजानं
न कृते भरत प्रभुम् । पितरं चापि धर्मज्ञं मातरं चाभिनन्दय ॥
श्रूयते हि पुत्रा तात श्रुतिगता यशस्विना । जयेन यजमानेन गयेष्वेव
पितृन् प्रति ॥ पुंनामो नरकायस्मात्पितरं त्रायेत सुतः । तस्मात्पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः
पितृन् वत्पात्रिवो सुतः ॥ लब्ध्वाः बहुवः पुत्रा गुणवन्तो बहु पुत्राः । तेषां वै
समवेतानामपि कश्चिद्ग्रां व्रजेत् ॥ एवं राजर्षयः सर्वे प्रतीता राजनन्दन ।
तस्मात्ताहि नरक्षेत्रे पितरं नरकात्प्रभो ॥ Evidently these
Ślokas recited in the Gaya Country are now recited
in every Śāddha ritual and glorify the Śāddha
ritual performed there.

Add from ~~old book~~ - Chap. Mahendran Viceroy & Raza
Chap. Bhāsa & Sakhibhāsa
and III to XXXV Chap. in the
up.

86. The King says the picture board is his late Queen actually
come back to life and I cannot how such a lovely form
could have been reduced to ashes. Ratanak looks to miss
the other and compares the Queen with her husband and
the could judge the artist's skill by comparison. The King
Ratanak why the picture board has excited her so much;
she replies that something exactly similar to that picture
is lying with them. When the King asks her to be brought
up, the junior Queen explains that prior to her marriage
she had been entrusted his wife with Ratanak. The
King at once draws Ratanak's attention to the
cause and explains it might be the cause and
wishes her to bring that elderly lady. She replied
youngster enters muttering within himself 'Hanging
concealed the Queen for the King's welfare, I shall his
concentrate on the happy end: now King my work
is fully successful, I am apprehensive of King's
reaction. The proposed Ratanak's offer to leave and
please him secretly, but asks him 'Was your wife
entrusted with Ratanak's hands? When the Prince

156 a well, nobody can prevent another from dying.

But Adarpana continues to keep saying he can never forget ^{daughter} Mahasena's wife, his dearest disciple

even in his future birth. The nurse then

continues the affectionate message of the mother

of Varanasi - 'Change my daughter's dead, you

are as good as dead and Palaka to me. Even

before you were, you were pitiless when as a

dear old servant. When the Gopavati was to

be taught to her, we gave her in marriage to

you, only the five. Witness. Ceremony could not

be arranged. But you ran away because of your

mischievous tendencies. After you eloped, we cele-

brated your marriage by getting these two pictures

drawn of your painted. These are now hanging

to you. Look at them and desire some satisfaction.

The King is extremely pleased by her devotion and

the openly confesses that this is valued by him

more than the acquisition of a hundred kingdoms

even. Parnavati now expresses to see her elder

sister and brooked herself before her at least

in the picture board. The nurse at once hands it

over for her inspection. Parnavati looks on

with her increasing admiration and asks her

~~brother~~ ~~whether~~ the picture is like life.

~~chapter VIII -~~ ~~Chapter VIII~~

